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CHURCH HISTORY

PART 1



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PUBLICATION OFFICE, BERNE, INDIANA

EXECUTIVE AND EDITORIAL OFFICE, 55 ELIZABETH ST., HARTFORD 5, CONN.

CHURCH HISTORY is a quarterly journal published in March, June, September, December by the American Society of Church History. The subscription price is three dollars per year. The price of single copies is seventy-five cents. To foreign countries, twenty-five cents a year should be added. Subscriptions should be sent to Professor Matthew Spinka, 55 Elizabeth Street, Hartford 5, Conn., or to Professor Robert Hastings Nichols, 21 Claremont Ave., New York 27, N. Y. Remittances should be made to the order of American Society of Church History.

All communications regarding contributions, book reviews, and all other matters of editorial nature should be sent to Professor Matthew Spinka, 55 Elizabeth St., Hartford 5, Conn.

Claims for missing numbers and changes of address should be addressed to Prof. R. H. Nichols, 21 Claremont Ave., New York 27, N. Y.

Entered as second class matter March 9, 1934, at the post office at Berne, Ind., under the Acts of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. XVI

June, 1947

No. 2

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EMPHASIS ON THE GOSPEL AND CHRISTIAN REFORM IN LATE MEDIEVAL PREACHING

RAY C. PETRY

Duke University, Durham, N. C.

I.

Christian history demonstrates repeatedly that the church at its best has been a self-criticizing institution. Furthermore, the call to both corporate and individual reformation has never ceased to be regarded as the special obligation of Christian preachers. Their hearers through the centuries have often been highly sensitive, as individuals and groups, to castigation of any kind emanating from whatever quarter. In every era, however, there have been some prophetic spokesmen who have continued to take seriously the censures of the church's enemies and to call for self-examination, repentance, and rededication—both personal and social—on the part of its true friends.

This, of course, does not mean that a thoroughgoing social reorganization of modern character was sought or achieved. Relatively few Christian leaders in the early and medieval world anticipated a basic reordering of the structural unity and constituent relationships of temporal society. What has been too generally ignored, however, is that Christian preachers in plenty, long before the Protestant Reformation, interpreted their gospel vocation as having socializing, as well as individualizing, objectives. The divine will, expressing itself through them, as they believed, called for an intensified mutualization of all human associations; even though this might demand no more than the fuller realization of Christian brotherhood held possible within the established order. In seeking authority for their reforming function, numerous preachers of the Middle Ages drew heavily upon the gospel. This they interpreted both as the whole body of the canonical Scriptures and, more specifically, as the New Testament Word of Christ and his apostles.

It is generally conceded that by the twelfth century the long night of homiletic somnolence, lasting from the sixth, had begun to dissipate; and that a revival of creative preaching in keeping with the requirements of a new age had begun to emerge. Raoul

Ardent, a good French pastor and crusader whose career ended at the beginning of the twelfth century (d. 1101), is an example of this contention.¹ Limitations of time and the specific province of this paper make it impossible to do more now than to mention his soundly scriptural approach to problems of individual renewal and social renovation.² Not often in any age has such an abrasively Biblical vocabulary and standard of judgments, as his, execrated the evils of society and called for evangelically-molded leaders to help redeem it.³ The debt of later medieval preaching to at least a few early prophets of his catholic learning and zealous reforming powers must be thankfully acknowledged.

When, however, the Middle Ages emerge into the mendicant era, a reformatory movement of enlarged character is at once evident. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) was too modest to conceive of himself as a preacher in the fullest sense; though as a deacon he performed preaching functions of steadily expanding significance.⁴ In any event, he accepted the challenge

1 The versatile achievements of Radulfus Ardens in Biblical studies, Patristics, theology, philosophy, canon law, history, and classical literatures are vouched for by M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (München, 1931), I, 87, and M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* (Freiburg, 1909), I, 246-57. A sympathetic and essentially correct interpretation of his character and significance as a pastor and preacher is given by L'Abbé L. Bourgain, *La chaire française au xii^e siècle d'après les manuscrits* (Paris, 1879), 55-61. The sketch in the *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1750), IX, 254-265, is reproduced in the prefatory note to Raoul's sermons edited by J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1880), 155:1294-99.

2 The basically scriptural and inspiringly evangelical quality of Raoul's reform emphasis will be at once apparent to anyone who, following Bourgain's lead, examines the sermons extant. Those accessible in Migne (MPL), Volume 155, are, according to series and columns: *Homiliae*—I. *De Tempore*, 1301-1490; II. *De Sanctis*, 1489-1626; and the *Homiliae in Epist. et Evang. Dominic.*, 1667-2118.

3 In *De Tempore*, XX, he flays those who preach "non verba Dei, sed verba dialectices, vel rhetorices vel alicujus scientiae saecularis (1379 B-C) . . . Turpissimum enim est quando sacerdos est sicut populus. Quod aperte est contra quosdam hodiernos praedicatores qui vita et sapientia non solum non praesunt plebi, sed etiam subsunt. Unde nec audent, nec sciunt eos corrigere." Followers of Peter, the shepherd of Christ's sheep, can surely imitate his pastoral life and evangelical doctrine, if not his martyrdom (*De Tempore*, XXVII (1406-08)); Raoul directs a stinging jeremiad against those church leaders who, running after secular fancies, spurn the Scriptures on which, alone, temporal and eternal salvation depend (1410). *Hom. in Epist. et Evang. Dominic.* (Pars II), XXXIX, MPL, 2083-5 is a scathing indictment of bad prelates and a lament over the paucity of good ones: "Heu! quantum exerevit hodie haec ambitio praelationum inter nos!" Of many who mount the episcopal throne Raoul can say: ". . . male ascendunt, pejus vivunt. . . . Elati in cathedra, obliviscuntur se esse mortales, divitum personae assumuntur, pauperes abjiciuntur, ordines Ecclesiae et justitiae venundantur, et quae care merenti sunt, carius vendere concupiscunt. Lectio et contemplatio contemnitur, et lucrosae causae agitantur" (2083-4).

4 The characteristic lay-exhortation of Francis and his early brethren did not require Holy Orders. It continued "even after papal permission had been granted

for himself, as well as for his lay and priestly brethren, to minister to the needs of contemporary multitudes.⁵ His proclamation was unquestionably gospel-centered and reform-conscious.⁶ Reforms in any way traceable to him were, to be sure, conceived in no spirit of revolt. They derived, exclusively, from his loyalty to the Catholic institution. In the areas of liturgical life he laid down categorical rules for preaching as a means of clarifying the ends and methods of worship.⁷ Issuing from such a source there developed a ministry of astonishingly social proportions. His followers in the centuries to come were not always true to his conception of their immediate duties. But they did become, indisputably, a bulwark against heresy and a support to the church in its program of Christian revival. However much they might employ new methods of homiletic illustration, and to whatever degree they made use of scholastic formulas in the preparation of their sermons, they rendered varied services to people of scattered interests under almost every conceivable circumstance.⁸

Impossible as it is even to call the roll of such preachers as

for the exercise of the actual sacred (liturgical) sermon." Francis' and his followers' relation to the "lay exhortation" and the "liturgical sermon" are discussed by A. Zawart, "The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers 1209-1927: A Bio-Biographical Study" (*Franciscan Studies*, No. 7) (New York, 1927), 261-63. The ramifications of the scholastic or artistic *sermo* in relation to those of the popular sermon, or *sermo vulgaris*, are treated, 243 ff., and 260-85, particularly.

5 Provisions for lay exhortation and the liturgical sermon have their background and specific exposition in such sources as J. R. H. Moorman's attempted reconstruction of the Primitive Rule in *The Sources for the Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (Manchester, 1940), 51 ff.; the *Regula prima non bullata* (I Reg.), edited by H. Boehmer u. F. Wiegand, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi* (Tuebingen, 1930), 1-18; and the *Regula bullata* (II Reg.), edited in Boehmer-Wiegand, *Analekten*, 20-24. See, especially, I Reg., 14, 16, 17 and 21; and II Reg., 9 and 12. Cf. Zawart, *Franciscan Preaching*, 261-62.

6 Francis' preaching of the Gospels and of the Bible as a whole is interpreted in its reform context with full reference to early sources by R. C. Petry, *Francis of Assisi: Apostle of Poverty* (Durham, N. C., 1941), 70-85. An exceedingly useful treatment is that of E. d'Oisy, "S. François, la Bible et l'Évangile", *Études Franciscaines*, XXXIX (1927), 498-529, 646-56; XL (1928), 69-80. Francis' own gospel predilections are characteristically phrased in I Reg., Introd., 1, and 22. The significant Testamentum (Boehmer-Wiegand, *Analekten*, 24-27), reads: "Et postquam Dominus dedit michi de fratribus, nemo ostendebat michi, quid deberem facere, sed ipse Altissimus revelavit michi, quod deberem vivere secundum formam sancti evangelii (Test., 4)." References to the gospel are profuse throughout all of Francis' works. See Petry, above.

7 The Poverello's undeviating concern that preaching be in accord with the wishes of the properly authorized hierarchy and the liturgical church is illustrated in such passages as I Reg., 17, 23; II Reg., 9; Test., 3; Verba Admonitionis, 26 (Boehmer-Wiegand, *Analekten*, 33).

8 In addition to the able work of Zawart, already mentioned, consult Fr. de Sessevalle, *Histoire générale de l'ordre de Saint François* (Paris, 1937) II, 3-217, and R. M. Huber, *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order . . . 1182-1517* (Washington, D. C., 1944), 772-83.

Anthony of Padua, Berthold of Regensburg, Bernardine of Siena, and their many associates, one may at least pause to reflect that these were no mere jugglers of homiletic abstractions. Theirs were the voices that shook the centers of corporate life from manor to metropolis, from rustic gathering to university assembly. Berthold, if we may believe such disparate sources as Salimbene and Roger Bacon, stirred vast multitudes with his stentorian gospel wherever he went. Bernardine's popular sermons have versatility and an evangelical appeal that last well beyond their own day. These and others, according to every account, demanded changes, not only in the individual believer's heart, but even more in the daily routine that men pursued in company with each other.

The Dominicans, with a peculiar sense of preaching apostolate growing within them from their very inception, set out to defend the gospel truth as the church conceived it. As inquisitors against the heretics, as missionaries in the most widely separated corners of the Christian world, and as trained exponents of acceptable doctrine, they sought to remove the stain of corruption within the church and to replace it with a purified ecclesiastical life. Their influence, also, upon the people of eminence and the submerged classes in town and country made them invaluable agents of the institutional church.⁹ The rich diversity of preaching and homiletic instruction instanced by such Dominicans as Humbert de Romans, Hugh de St. Cher,

9 How regnant was the ideal of apostolic preaching and gospel reform in the early Dominicans is illustrated by the tireless researches of Father P. Mandonnet. His *Saint Dominique: l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1937), in two volumes, together with notes and critical studies by Marie-Humbert Vicaire and Reginald Ladner, was translated, with certain omissions, in one volume by Sister Mary Benedicta Larkin as, *St. Dominic and His Work* (St. Louis, 1945). The original French text and Latin source-notes, alike rendered into English in the one-volume edition, constitute a priceless treasury of references on Dominican preaching and its anchorage in a profounder, more comprehensive scholarship. In this last connection, Mandonnet's, "La crise scolaire au debut du xii^e siècle et la fondation de l'ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs," in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, XV (1914), 34-49 is characteristically useful. A fourteenth-century edition of the *Constitutiones* ed. by G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216-1360* (Manchester, 1925), 203-53, reads (in Cap. XII, 247): "Qui, accepta benedictione, exeuntes ubique tanquam viri qui suam et aliorum salutem procurare desiderant, religiose et honeste se habeant sicut viri evangelici sui sequentes vestigia Salvatoris, . . ." R. F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth Century Dominican History* (Cambridge, 1937), has a series of excellent chapters (V-VII) on the Dominican preacher, his congregation, and his sermons. In addition to the sermons of leading preachers, preaching handbooks like John Bromyard's *Summa Praedicatorum* (Venice, 1586), and *Anecdotes* such as those collected by Lecoy de la Marehe from Etienne de Bourbon (Paris, 1877), fairly reflect the far-reaching reform ministry and the scriptural basis of the Dominicans.

Étienne de Bourbon, John Tauler, Meister Eckhart, and John Bromyard compels an assessment of them, as well as of their Franciscan counterparts, in terms of far-reaching significance rather than individual evaluation.

It should never be forgotten that the reform emphasis in preaching cannot be limited to any particular class or group. Bishops might, at times, need to be reminded of their obligation to foster a more effective apostolate. On many occasions, however, they and their immediate subordinates took the first steps to reconstitute diocesan life on the basis of a newly proclaimed gospel.¹⁰ One of the best representatives of parish reorganization with the aid of a preaching ministry was Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253.¹¹ Though not a Franciscan himself, he became the first secular master of the Minors in the lecture halls at Oxford, when they were just beginning their academic careers.¹² Later, he was to utilize their evangelical proclivities to foster his own reform plans.¹³

For Grosseteste insisted upon reforming the whole structure of Christian life within his region. Working through the proper channels of administration, he sent out, to the farthest reaches of his diocese, a reform program which was not easy to follow but which could not be readily ignored.¹⁴ In the instructions which were thus to be handed down to the rural deans and the parish priests, he treated almost every conceivable subject,

10 Both the bishops' derelictions and their earnest efforts in this regard are summarized in Mandonnet, *St. Dominic*, 120-174. Any fair-minded survey of representative councils, episcopal registers, visitation records, etc., demonstrates that some bishops, at least, tried to inculcate the gospel as the main hope of reform. That the best of their efforts were all too ineffectual is evidenced by the almost desperate legislative acts of the third and fourth Lateran (see, particularly, canon 10 of the fourth Lateran, 1215).

11 Leaving aside the grave necessity for a modern life of Grosseteste, one may call attention to the brief critical sketch by J. C. Russell in his *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* ("Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research", Special Supplement, No. 3) (London, 1936), 135-38; Prof. Lechler's old but useful *John Wycliffe and His English Precursors* (London, 1884), 20-40; and S. Harrison Thomson's indispensable *Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940).

12 Thomas de Eccleston, *De adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana* ("Rolls Series", 4. 1) (London, 1858), I, 37-39. Cf. A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents* (Manchester, 1943), 26, n. 1, and 58.

13 Epistolae 20, 34, 41, 58 and 59 afford instances of his regard for their preaching and character. The edition is that of H. R. Luard, *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Quondam Lincolnensis Epistolae* (RS, 25) (London, 1861).

14 Especially in point are Epistola 22 (A.D. 1236), Luard ed., 72-76, and Epistola 52 (1238?), Luard, 154-166. The last comprises the famous *Constitutiones* sent to rectors, vicars, and others in the diocese of Lincoln. Consult Thomson, *Grosseteste*, 126-27, 202.

from mothers' carelessness in smothering their infants at night to the bad examples of poorly trained clergy. He made it obvious at once that he intended the priests in his diocese to preach the Decalogue, to instruct with regard to the seven vices and virtues, to inculcate the elemental principles of the creed, and to clarify the nature and efficacy of the sacraments. They must pray, study the Scriptures, and supply the proper service of the divine offices. The children and youth of the diocese must be properly taught. Priests of good life and trained intelligence must teach them. There must be honesty on the part of those who held the cure of souls. They could not lightly absent themselves from their parishes; nor could they fail to be spokesmen of the Lord's will within their areas of responsibility. Any one who doubts the bishop's practical bent has only to read his correspondence to be convinced.

As a learned man, Grosseteste saw the necessity of emphasizing Bible study in the schools and rising universities. There was altogether too much emphasis put upon secular manuals and incidental sources. The Old and the New Testament should, he believed, receive preferred hours of instruction in the lecture rooms. Perusing the Sentences of the theologians should be secondary to researching scriptural truths; not primary, as was so generally the case. All those in authority everywhere, whether in England, or outside, were called upon to help build the house of God upon the firm foundation of the prophets and the apostles, that is, upon the rock which was Christ himself.¹⁵ The bishop regarded the mendicants, and especially the Franciscans, as a heaven-sent boon to his reform labors. The Friars-Minor were, in their early period, at least, effective preachers of the scriptural Word, disparagers of purely worldly things, and

15 Discussing a certain problem he adduces evidence "sicut auctoritate irrefragabili Scripturae patet . . ." (Ep. 2, Luard, 18). To the Regents in Theology at Oxford, concerning their responsibility for building with Biblical stones on the rock which is Christ, himself, he says (Ep. 123, Luard 346-47): "Vos autem estis domus Dei constructores, *superaedificantes eam super fundamentum Apostolorum et Prophetarum, ipso angulari lapide Christo Jesu*. Lapides igitur fundamentales aedificii, *cujus estis architectonici*, . . . libri sunt Prophetarum . . . libri quoque Apostolorum et Evangelium. . . . Tempus autem maxime proprium ponendi et disponendi praedictos lapides in fundamento, . . . hora est matutina qua ordinarie legitis; decet igitur vestras lectiones omnes, maxime tali tempore, legendas esse de libris Novi Testamenti vel Veteris. . . ." Roger Bacon also bemoaned undue emphasis on tractates, sentences, and summas to the detriment of studies in the sacred text. See his *Compendium Studii Theologiae*, Pars II, Prolog., as ed. by H. Rashdall, for the *British Society of Franciscan Studies*, III, 34 ff. Cf. the *Opus Minus* in Brewer's ed. of the *Opera*, (RS 15:328 ff.).

exemplary proponents of voluntary poverty.¹⁶ The bishop bluntly commanded his clergy, some of them rebellious against himself and his mendicant friends, to guarantee the attendance of their people upon the preaching and confessionals of both Franciscans and Dominicans.¹⁷

Much has been written about Grosseteste's later life and the opposition that he engendered by his reforms, both in England and abroad.¹⁸ The famous Memorial of 1250, tendered by him to Pope Innocent IV through a group of cardinals, is probably a true measure of his disillusionment with powerful church officials.¹⁹ In all too many places, including the Roman Curia itself, he found a dearth of good shepherds. Bad pastors always betray themselves by not preaching the gospel of Christ.²⁰ Such men habitually victimized the very flocks they were to feed. It was Master Robert's perennial assertion that the cure of souls is not comprised exclusively in the dispensing of the sacraments, or the singing of the hours, or the reading of masses. It con-

16 Writing to Pope Gregory IX (c. 1238?) he said (Ep. 58, Luard, 180), of the Franciscans: "Illuminant enim totam nostram regionem praeclara luce praedicationis et doctrinae." And before this, c. 1236 (Ep. 34, Luard, 121), he had defended them against an episcopal detractor as follows: "Scit enim vestra discretio, quam utilis est populo, cum quo habitant, Fratrum Minorum praesentia et cohabitatio; cum tam verbo praedicationis quam exemplo sanctae caelestique conversationis et devotione jugis orationis continue et indefesse portent pacem et patriam illuminent, suppleantque in hac parte, pro magna parte defectum praeclatorum."

17 Grosseteste rebuked those rectors, vicars, and priests who, scorning the preaching and confessionals of both mendicant orders, tried maliciously to hinder their popular ministry. Indeed, he issued orders "compellendo sacerdotes ad debite peragendum divina obsequia, ad focarios expellendum, ad inducendum efficaciter populum, ut fratrum utriusque ordinis praedicationes devote et attente audiat, eisque humiliter confiteatur . . ." (Ep. 107, Luard, 318).

18 His famous letter of c. 1239 (Ep. 127, Luard, 357-432) dealing with his challenged rights of visitation as a bishop shows how great a mastery of the Old and New Testament he possessed. Accepting his full responsibility, as a bishop, for the evangelical proclamation of the word of God, he proposed to preach both by word of mouth and stern, disciplinary example (Cf. Ep. 127, Luard, 414). He found ample justification from Matthew, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*, and many others, not only for the regular ministry of prayer, preaching, and good administration, but also for the episcopal prerogatives of visitation, correction, and reformation. "Non solum enim oratione, praedicatione, exemplorum bonorum ostensione, et sacrarum administratione unitur, viget, stat, et protegitur ecclesia, sed et visitatione, correctione, et reformatione" (See Luard, 418-31, for this position and his scriptural authorities).

19 Transmitted to us as Sermo 14, this Memorandum is analyzed by Lechler (*English Precursors*, 32-34) and defended as authentic by Thomson (*Grosseteste*, 171, 160). It is part of a pitifully small body of published sermons from Grosseteste. These and the unpublished works still require extended study. The ones published are virtually limited to the edition of E. Brown, *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum* (1690), 250 ff.

20 "No wonder, for they preach not the Gospel of Christ with that living word which comes forth from living zeal for the salvation of souls, and is confirmed by an example worthy of Jesus Christ . . ." (Lechler, *English Precursors*, 32).

sists, also, in properly teaching the word of life, in rebuking and correcting the vices, and, in every related way, feeding the spiritually hungry.²¹ Lifted from their amplifying contexts, these statements may seem like innocuous platitudes. But the reverberations of protest from his own recalcitrant clergy, as well as from the nepotic pontiff, show that some thought them sufficiently pointed. How pitifully few parish priests there were who would, or could, preach the Word of God and the gospel of Christ, Grosseteste was painfully aware.²² He may well have demanded, as a subsequent Lollard tradition contends, that non-preaching priests resign. Their only alternatives were to memorize "the naked text of the Sunday Gospel" and give it to their people; or, if they could not read, to have some literate brother-priest expound it to them for re-transmission to their parishioners.²³ Knowing that he could not preach, personally, to every soul in his large diocese, Grosseteste determined to declare the Word to the clergy of each deanery, on visitation occasions, so that they might pass it on to their people.²⁴

Matthew Paris, who was not excessively appreciative of Grosseteste, says, in commenting on his death, that whatever else he may have been, he was oftentimes "the confuter of both pope and king, the blamer of prelates, the corrector of monks, the director of priests, the instructor of clerics, the sustainer of scholars, the preacher to the people, . . . and the sedulous student of scriptures . . ."²⁵ Friar Eccleston, in his *Chronicle*, recalls that, in lecturing to the Franciscans, Grosseteste had given every encouragement to them to avoid ignorance, so characteristic of many regular clergy, and that he had taught them the study of

21 *Ibid.*, 33.

22 Cf. ordination sermons of Grosseteste as cited and quoted from the edition of Brown, *Fasc. Rer. Exp.* II, 251, 256, 260, by M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, 1920), 196 and n. 1.

23 Consult Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*, 141-42, 442 ff., for the quotation, ascribed to Grosseteste, in which the priest who pleads inability to preach is told to resign; or else to "record . . . in the week the naked text of the Sunday's gospel, that he con the gross story, and tell it to his people; that is, if he understand Latin; and do he this every week in the year. . . . If forsooth he understood no Latin, go he to one of his neighbours that understandeth, which will charitably expound it to him, and thus edify he his flock, that is, his people."

24 See Ep. 50 (Luard, 146-147) for the text which begins: "Quoniam debitores sumus evangelizandi verbum Dei omnibus de dioecesi nostra, (and, finding it impossible to preach directly to more than the rectors, vicars, and parish priests of each deanery), ipsis verbum Dei praedicemus, instruantes eosdem qualiter populum sibi subjectum verbo doceant et conversationis suae exemplo informet; ut quod per nosmet ipsos implere non possumus, saltem eorum ministerio quoquomodo faciamus."

25 *Chronica Maiora*, Ed. H. R. Luard, seven volumes (RS 57) (London, 1872-83), V, 407 (Cf. Luard, *Ep. Gross.* lxxxvii).

the divine law and the matters appropriate to good preaching.²⁶ Sound scholarship and good exposition of the Word continued to be his groundwork for the reform of the entire clergy and laity throughout his diocese. The beneficent influence of this vigorous and sometimes arbitrary reformer upon Christian society in the West is not hard to trace.

II

John Wyclif (d. 1384) was another of those who, like Bishop Grosseteste and the early mendicants, drew heavily upon gospel resources for the purposes of reform through a preaching apostolate. The impact of his thought upon church and society is becoming ever better known. In spite of imposing researches recently made in his works, however, it may be useful to place in relief his sternly legal theory and practice of Biblical preaching that gave power to his reforming energies. The direct evidence from his works is incontrovertible concerning his revolutionary interpretation of the Bible and the reforming use made of it. It must suffice at this time to summarize representative ideas from his work on *The Truth of the Scriptures* and from his Latin and vernacular sermons. The Scriptures, regardless of the different senses in which they may be interpreted, are identical with the Word of God.²⁷ As such, they necessarily contain all truth.²⁸ Christ's law is far superior to any tradition that the church can set forth.²⁹ All Christians are required to study the Holy Scriptures on which, alone, the salvation of the faithful depends.³⁰

26 *Mon. Fran.* (RS.4.1) I, 64 (Cf. Little, *Franciscan Papers*, 59).

27 The edition of John Wyclif's *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* . . . is that of R. Buddensieg, published in three volumes for the Wyclif Society by Truebner and Co. (London, 1905-07). References are given to *De Veritate* by chapter and to the Buddensieg ed. by vol. and page. According to Cap. 5 (I, 100): Holy Scripture . . . est lex Cristi, testamentum Dei et fides ecclesie. . . . Cf., for example, Cap. 8 (I, 159-182). On the unity of the Scriptures, Old and New Testament, as the "unum dei verbum", in whatever sense they may be interpreted, see Cap. 19 (II, 112-14). For the different senses of Scripture see Buddensieg, I, 14, 73, 76, 119-24.

28 Appealing to Augustine and other Fathers he says (Cap. 6, I, 136): ". . . unde alias describendo heresim dixi, quod omnis heresis est scripture sacre contraria, cum ipsa continet in se omnem veritatem, . . ." Cap. 3 (I, 54): "logica autem scripture in eternum stat, cum fundatur independenter a fama vel favore hominum infrangibili veritate" (Cf. 53).

29 Cap. 20 (II, 129): ". . . lex Christi debet proporeionabiliter diligi ut eius legifer, et per consequens est infinitum honoracior quam tradicio humana" (Cf. 130-136).

30 Cap. 20 (II, 137): ". . . dominicus sermo debet audiri humiliter ac delectabiliter ab omnibus cristianis. Patet ex hoc, quod in fide illius scripture necesse est, omnes salvandos salvare." Cap. 6 (I, 136): ". . . omnes cristiani eciam seculares domini debent scripturam sacram cognoscere atque defendere."

Scriptural knowledge is not merely useful to the priestly office. It is, together with the preaching of that gospel, the first duty of bishop and priest. Whatever dignity pertains to such ministers of Christ comes not from any institutional preferment or worldly power but from their performance of this scriptural proclamation.³¹ The sacred writings are, moreover, the one element indispensable to the proper ruling of the church.³² All heresies are to be judged by them.³³ In them the whole church finds its one common faith.³⁴ Naturally they exceed any and all human canons.³⁵ It is not strange that they are valued most highly by the doctors of the church, for the very heart of them is Christ himself.³⁶

For Wyclif the preaching of God's word is a more sacred function than the celebration of the Eucharist.³⁷ Reading Holy Scripture renders superfluous the missal, antiphonary, psalter, and other liturgical books.³⁸ Knowing the *Credo* and the *Pater Noster* is by no means a substitute for gospel preaching.³⁹ Of course the Word must penetrate the mind and the will of all Christians if their individual and collective lives are to be reformed. Therefore, the evangelical message will be truly edifying only when it emerges from a sermon issued in the mother tongue of a people.⁴⁰

31 Cap. 20 (II, 137): ". . . omnes cristiani et precipue sacerdotes atque episcopi tenentur cognoscere primo omnem legem scripture." Pope Gregory I, knowing well that the salvation of man depends on the Scripture, had concluded (138): "quod sacerdotibus prepositis et specialiter episcopis iniungitur a deo sancte predicacionis officium." True ministers of Christ, not in name only, but in deed, also, need to remember his injunction (Mare. 16:15): ". . . predicate, inquit, ewangelium omni creature. . . ." (138). Again, Wyclif reminds bishops that: "non enim cumulacio temporalium per se facit honorem episcopi, quia titulus iste spectat ad dominos seculares, et tunc, ut cresceret vel decreceret temporalium adiacencia, variaretur honor episcopi. . . oportet igitur, episcopum in quantum huiusmodi habere habitum ewangelizandi" (139). Cf. Cap. 21 (II, 160).

32 Cap. 10 (I, 205).

33 Cap. 32 (III, 274-75).

34 Cap. 9 (I, 189): "illa enim est primo sacra, in qua omnes catholici communicant, cum sit una communis fides toti ecclesie."

35 Cap. 24 (II, 268): ". . . scriptura sacra excedit omnes humanos canones in utilitate, in autoritate et subtilitate."

36 Cap. 12 (I, 271); Cap. 31 (III, 242-45).

37 Cap. 21 (II, 156): "patet secundo, quod predicacio verbi dei est actus solemnior quam confectio sacramenti, cum tantum sit unum recipere verbum dei sicut corpus Christi. igitur multo plus est, populum recipere verbum dei, quam unicam personam recipere corpus Cristi."

38 Cap. 21 (II, 167).

39 Cap. 21 (II, 179).

40 Cap. 24 (II, 242-44). This, Wyclif concludes, is the condition necessary to common edification that Paul speaks of in I Cor. 14:9. See the tract, "The holi prophete David seith," attributed to Wyclif and edited by Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*, 445-56, for the significance of preaching to the people in the vernacular.

The story is the same when one consults the English and Latin sermons.⁴¹ Inextricably allied in the ministry of a good pastor are the life example that he gives and the preaching that he does.⁴² That such gospel preaching is as much the function of the priest as of the bishop is one of Wyclif's most vigorously pressed asseverations.⁴³ His themes, texts, and treatments are almost one continuous disquisition on the primacy of "Goddis Lawe." Here again in the sermons, many of them the outgrowth of preaching directly to the people, he boldly states that such gospel proclamation definitely transcends the significance claimed for the sacraments.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Wyclif defends his convictions with quotations drawn from such great pulpit orators as Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory I, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Grosseteste. The whole meaning of the church and its prosecution of the kingdom task are brought to expression for Wyclif in terms of serving the Gospel Word. Preaching is, literally for him, the means of helping the Lord create heirs for the kingdom, even now on earth. Indeed, Wyclif prosecutes, as none before him, the expanding use of translated Scriptures in representative sermons even as he inspires his followers to the production of a truly vernacular Bible.⁴⁵ Vitriolic and caviling as many of his anti-mendicant works are, they embody a fundamental reasser-

41 Thomas Arnold's edition of *The Select English Works of John Wyclif* (London, 1869-71) gives the sermons in the first two of his three volumes. A convenient arrangement of representative passages from the sermons and other works is provided by H. E. Winn, *Wyclif: Select English Writings* (London, 1929). The right and duty of preaching "Goddis Lawe" is stressed typically in the following sermons, listed by number according to the volumes and pages of Arnold: 8 (II, 242-46); 45 (I, 129 ff.); 61 (I, 185-89); 63 (I, 194-96); 64 (I, 197-201); 79 (I, 261-66); 80 (I, 266-71); 133 (I, 17-19); 207 (II, 172-74). Volume I (Super Evangelia Dominicalia) of *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*, ed. by Dr. J. Loserth and published for the Wyclif Society by Truebner and Co. (London, 1887), has an invaluable introduction, iii-xl, with source-texts drawn from numerous Latin sermons and other works of Wyclif that clarify his preoccupation with gospel preaching and reform. This excellent treatment documents to Wyclif, himself, a systematic investigation of preaching character and content and the method of preaching to the people. The tract, "The Church and Her Members" (Arnold, *Select English Works*, III, 338 ff.), should be consulted, especially Chapters 4, 5, 9, 10.

42 See Loserth, I, iii, and the texts there cited. A good illustration of a sermon stressing pastoral ministry through godly conversation of life and the evangelical teaching of "Goddis Lawe" in keeping with Christ's example is Sermo 26 (Ego sum pastor bonus, Joh. 10:11) of the Latin Series, I, 172-79. A similar work in the Arnold edition is Sermo 48 (I, 138-140).

43 Sermo 37 (Loserth I, 246-52). Cf. Sermo 40 (Loserth I, 268).

44 Sermo 16 (Loserth I, 107-114, especially, 110): "Iterum, eucaristie confectio non facit nisi panem esse sacramentaliter corpus Cristi, evangelizacio vero facit naturam digniorem, quia animam humanam esse quoddammodo ipsum Christum."

45 Consult Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*, 225-51, and H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1926), II, 149-220.

tion of gospel renunciation for the sake of the people as many early Franciscans had conceived it, and as Grosseteste had apostrophized it.⁴⁶ Ironically, though not too strangely, the inelastic Bible preaching of Wycliff conduced to the rise of conciliar preachers like Jean Gerson, who also wanted church unity through reform but not on terms such as those of the unorthodox Englishman.

III

Coming to full maturity in the fifteenth century, which experienced the cumulative frustrations of the Great Schism, Jean Gerson (d.1429) provided a new example of the effective minister advancing the reformation of Christian life. Together with his former teacher, Pierre D'Ailly, he bore much of the burden of the great councils, particularly that of Constance, which sought to unify the church and to reform it in head and members.⁴⁷ Having come from a humble station in life to the University of Paris, he distinguished himself as student, teacher, administrator, and finally as the leader of a group of ecclesiastical reformers. Many of his greatest sermons were delivered in connection with the conciliar program.⁴⁸ But his function was wider than even this noble attempt. He has good right to be known as the preacher to Everyman. Thus he preached before the king of France and ignorant peasants with equal Christian dedication and fervor. Youth and children were not forgotten in an age that very frequently passed them by. It is not unusual to

46 Whether or not Wyclif actually wrote the nostalgic translation of the *Rule and Testament of St. Francis* attributed to him by F. D. Matthew, *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*, EETS, 74 (London, 1880), 39-51, and by Workman, *John Wyclif*, II, 98, is immaterial. Wyclif's appreciation for Francis and the Spirituals is as sure as his animadversions on the later Minorites. Nor is it accidental that he quotes and paraphrases long sermonic passages on the virtues of evangelical preaching attributed to Grosseteste, the staunch friend of the pristine, evangelical Franciscans. See, for instance, the *Opus Evangelicum*, Prima Pars, caps. 6, 13, 14-15, etc. The edition here used is that of Dr. J. Loserth, published for the Wyclif Society (London, 1895), I, 17, 41, 43-48, etc. Cf. Workman, *John Wyclif*, I, 115-16.

47 Part I, 1-203 of J. L. Connolly's *John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic* (St. Louis, 1928), is devoted to Gerson as reformer. This work makes large use of original sources. G. J. Jordan, *The Inner History of the Great Schism of the West: A Problem in Church Unity* (London, 1930), likewise utilizes Ellies Du Pin's edition of Gerson's *Opera* (Antwerp, 1706). The analysis of conciliar tracts and sermons is a feature of Jordan's study. Both works give well-selected quotations from the pertinent Latin texts.

48 For representative ones see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, 53 volumes in 57 (Paris, 1903-27), XXVIII, 538-40 and 549-57; XXVII, 179 ff. See Connolly, *Gerson*, 168-203, together with Jordan's extended analyses.

have him pause in addressing adults to bring in some reference peculiarly relevant to the needs of these young hearers. Out of regard for their religious problems he prepared a tract called *On the Leading of the Little Ones to Christ*. He preached in Latin and in the vernacular on almost every kind of occasion. Emotion was not lacking from his message. He used *exempla* within consciously restricted limits. His sense of appropriateness in performing his preaching ministry, whether on mass days, before great conciliar gatherings, or while sitting and preaching to the people from their own midst, is marked throughout.⁴⁹

His ideal for the office of preaching extends to a genuine concern for the truth in terms of versatile proclamation. He does not disparage eloquence. The knowledge of the Scriptures is everywhere emphasized. Spiritual mindedness, an exemplary life evidenced in oneself, the hard-working preparation of the sermon, as well as an alertness to age-old human problems—all emerge clearly in his preaching program. Connolly is certainly right in saying that for Gerson every sermon grows out of a single emphasis designed to support the one true gospel which is, before all else, the story of Christ's love. In the life of Jesus is found every instruction for leading human beings to their heavenly goal. The love of God and Christ cannot but breed repentance in the human soul and so bring it to an amendment of life. "Do penance and believe the gospel" constitutes a theme upon which there are infinite variations. And they affect people both singly and together. Gerson believes in no vain display of learning. One must not employ those oratorical vanities calculated to win the adulation of listeners. Cheap tirades against women's dress and the finitude of responsible churchmen are beneath the dignity of the preacher's calling. A scholarly but by no means pedantic approach to the problems of church and state in rela-

49 Connolly, *Gerson*, 139-67, employs the texts to good advantage in his interpretation of Gerson the preacher. E. Bourret, *Essai historique et critique sur les sermons français de Gerson d'après les manuscrits inédits . . .* (Paris, 1858), is still useful. D. H. Carnahan, in his introduction to the first modern edition of the sermon, "Ad Deum Vadit," *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, III. 1 (February, 1917), 11-39, relates Gerson to the preaching of his own and other ages. The text of this French sermon (41-129), as well as another translated by Bourret, *Sermons français*, 165-82, reveals characteristic qualities of Gerson's gospel and reform preaching. Jacques Wimpheling's edition of Gerson's *Opera* was reproduced by Jean Knoblauch in four volumes (Strassburg, 1514). Inconvenient as this set is to use, it provides a number of the sermons. The original French sermons have, of course, a Latin translation in this work. The scriptural earnestness and reformatory direction of Gerson's preaching are everywhere apparent. The evangelical appeal to repentance, love and social responsibility is directed to all groups, regardless of their station.

tion to all human conditions is basic. Although his messages may at times seem stilted, over-allegorized, and even a bit far-fetched, they are seldom vapid and without scriptural center.⁵⁰ Gerson was never, like Wyclif, the fiery exponent of legalistically conceived Scriptures which he interpreted as being in irreconcilable conflict with the hierarchical church. He believed no less than Wyclif, and with real affinity to Nicholas of Cusa, that scriptural preaching of Christ's headship must lead the way to the reform of His church.

IV

It is instructive, then, to note the manner in which preaching became a chief means of reform for yet another leader of the conciliar epoch. The reading of E. Vansteenberghe's penetrating study on Nicholas of Cusa (d.1464) and, better still, the scrutiny of Cusa's own works reveal him as being, probably, not only the most learned man of the fifteenth century, but also one of the most humble proponents of the pure gospel.⁵¹ Vansteenberghe rightly says that for Nicholas the one action superior to contemplation is preaching, together with the instruction that it entails. After all, this function is one that presupposes contemplation and derives from it. If faith and morals in the Christian body are to be reformed, preaching must be utilized endlessly.

Having played a chief role in the attempted unification of his beloved church and having come increasingly to support the papal point of view, Cusa made of his whole episcopal career a well-articulated ministry of reform.⁵² Few people knew better than he how savage were the onslaughts against the church by its enemies from outside. Paganism was steadily encroaching

50 The most heartening experience in reading Gerson's own works is the realization of his gospel passion, his stress on penance and the love of Christ, and his preaching to the basic reform issues of his day. These redemptive qualities of his individual-social preaching are well summarized, with the aid of primary materials, in Connolly's *Gerson*, 147-63, and by Bourret, *Sermons français*, 132-138.

51 *Le cardinal Nicolas de Cues (1401-1464), l'action, la pensée* (Paris, 1920). Unrivalled familiarity with the MSS of the sermons is turned to good account in the treatment of Cusa as gospel preacher and reformer (153-65). A brief evaluation of his significance on the basis of his works is that of H. Bett, *Nicholas of Cusa* (London, 1932), 83-98.

52 The learning and scriptural penetration of such works as *De Docta Ignorantia* and *De Concordantia Catholica* as well as of the sermons may be seen at first-hand in the editions of the *Opera* by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, 3 vols. (Paris, 1514), and by Heinrich Petri, 3 vols. (Basel, 1565). E. F. Jacob has a chapter on "Cusanus the Theologian" in his *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Manchester, 1943), 154-69.

upon the sacred preserves of the true gospel. There was only one cure for this as Nicholas saw it. That was to be found, first, in the interior renewal of Christian men and women; and, through them, the remaking of the outside world, infidels included. People everywhere must be taught the duties of their Christian life and persuaded to accept the obligations that went with those responsible instructions. This necessitated teaching the faith to the clergy and prevailing upon them to implant it in the laity.

The progressive invasion of society by non-Christian ideas and customs must be checked through the preaching of the Word. Nicholas is supposed to have said that preaching thus conceived might be even more important than the celebration of the holy mysteries. He stood consistently, however, for a reform of the liturgy and for a reconsecration of individual and social experience on the platform of Christian rededication. That which he proposed to give to one and all was the true bread which is Christ. Utilizing as one of his models the Franciscan, Bernardine of Siena, he sought to make his own preaching acceptable in a popular way. How well he succeeded cannot be properly judged from the selections, made by others, of his major sermons. Even such excerpts, however, reveal in themselves the clear priority that he gave to the New Testament, the gospels, and, above all, to the person and work of Jesus Christ.⁵³ Within the letter of this eternal gospel he found the word of the Master and the spirit of life. Utilizing the four senses of Scripture, he declared that the literal teaches that which is necessary to know; the tropological, that which is necessary to do; the allegorical, that which is necessary to believe; and the anagogical, that which is necessary to hope.

In his sermons, as ordinarily developed, there are constituent parts directed to the learned, the untutored, and the more singularly devout. He takes every opportunity to explain the sacraments and to create renewed veneration for the liturgy. For

53 The gospel spirit of his sermons and their tender, yet vigorous appreciation of Christ as the renovator of man's private and public life emerge in Cusa's treatment of such texts as: "Pater vester coelestis dabit vobis," *Excitationum ex Sermonibus*, Lib. X, 670-71, and "Plenitudo legis est dilectio," *Excit.*, Lib. IX, 636-37. The appeal to "Christiformity" through the exercise of love for God and man as it is in Christ Jesus is emphasized, not only in the first mentioned fragment, but also throughout the preaching of Cusa. Sermons on Christ and the "Corpus Mysticum" are numerous. Truly, Cusa can say, "Consistit autem vita in obedientia perfecta quae exaltavit Christum super omnia" (*Excit.*, Lib., X, 670). Cf. *Excit.*, Lib. VII, 576, on the Scriptures as the Word of Life in relation to the Mystical Body of Christ.

him, there is no rigid separation between the preaching of the gospel and the proclamation of sacramental graces.

One has difficulty in thinking of him as a popular discourseser. But sermons of a more flexible character he undoubtedly did preach—with what effectiveness is not always clear. He was not above piquing his listeners' curiosity by legitimate means. He conceived some of his sermons serially and announced them in advance in order to bring his hearers back. Occasionally, he utilized the form of dialogue to place in relief some dramatizable issue. He tried different methods for different groups and circumstances. He attacked superstitions, sorceries, and the causes of them that lay, as he believed, in bad instruction and ignorance. But wherever he preached—whether to councils, university gatherings, popular assemblies, or papal retinues—his prevailing emphasis was always the same: he sought wholesome and total reform in the life of the whole clergy and the entire people.

V

Savonarola (d.1498) ought, perhaps, to be mentioned in conclusion as an example of the manner in which a reformer may easily be implicated beyond his expectations in the difficult matters of everyday politics. One must not too readily exult at the facility with which he chastised recreant popes, complacent churchmen, and irresponsible civic leaders. He was not always able to exercise commendable restraint in exposing evil forces and wicked men. Some of his declarations have the sound of near fanaticism. But his main projection of spirit was in the direction of the purified Christian life. And, like Bernardine of Siena and Nicholas of Cusa, he could not dissociate the everyday affairs of the church from those of society any more than he could ultimately retract his life convictions. Whether for good or for ill, he took the Bible as his text and proceeded on the basis of it to his own death.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The gospel demand for repentance on the part of every individual and group, with specific applicability to ecclesiastical and civic life, is illustrated by such a sermon as that entitled: "Penitenza, Penitenza" (Poenitentiam agite: appropinquabit regnum coelorum . . . Matt. 4:17), edited by M. Ferrara, *Girolamo Savonarola: Prediche e scritti* . . . (Milan, 1930). There are significant summaries and translated portions of gospel-reform sermons based on G. Baccini, Ed., *Girolamo Savonarola: Prediche* . . . (Firenze, 1889), by P. Villari, *Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola*, Translated by Linda Villari (New York, 1890), I, 137-185 etc. The appeal to Christ and the gospel, however obscured at times, is also a vigorous one in the sermon on "The Ascension of Christ" (Luke 24:51), reproduced in translation in the *World's Great Sermons* (New York, 1908), I, 93-112. For the powerful cogency of Bernardine of Siena's popular ser-

Intimate converse with such living personalities illustrates once more the naivete, if not the viciousness, of a persistent error. This is the assumption that gospel preaching is content with producing personal virtue to be won at the price of social irresponsibility. Medieval preachers were often vociferous in their generalizations and confused when called upon for specific direction, even as Christian leaders frequently are today. They were almost as much inclined to set definite bounds to the efficacy of unaided human progress as our age has been prone to have confidence in little else. But it is well to remember that, however inadequate in our sight their projects of reformation may have been, their interpretation of the gospel did produce changes in the social life that we have inherited. Only those who have never read their sermons in the full context of European history and culture can call them flaccid and irrelevant. Many truisms on the nature of medieval society, as well as much indeterminate research on the sources of human betterment, must await fuller documentation from an intensified study of these late medieval preachers and their gospel of reform.

mons see the selection and edition of Don Nazareno Orlandi as translated by Helen J. Robins (Siena, 1920). See, particularly, sermons 12, 13, 19, 28, involving such everyday issues as good government, business methods and problems, and the necessity of keeping the university at Siena— all treated in the context of gospel preaching.

ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT POLICY AND THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN GERMANY

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If it be assumed that in any survey of the religious situation in post-war Europe, reconstruction and the struggle against Stalinist communism are the two main themes, Germany is deserving of attention on both counts. By the end of the war, approximately fifty per cent of the church's physical property in cities of more than thirty thousand people had been destroyed. The Nazi penetration into the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Evangelical Church and practically all the minor Protestant sects also presented a reconstruction problem of major proportions. In the matter of communism, Germany at the crossroads of East and West was soon subjected to a determined leftist drive, conducted in the guise of anti-fascism, to remake its society on an anticlerical and irreligious pattern.

Germany differs from England, the Scandinavian countries, and Czechoslovakia, and resembles Hungary, in that it is a defeated nation. Its post-war situation is therefore dominated by the presence of the occupation forces and the military government of the victorious Powers. The control of Germany, however, is divided between four Powers, at least nominally allied, instead of monopolized by one as is the case for all practical purposes in Hungary. Therefore, the religious situation in Germany cannot be clearly understood without some knowledge of the policy of the Allied Control Authority.

The collapse of the Nazi regime in May, 1945, found the German churches very much alive and anxious to revert to their pre-Hitler status as soon as possible. Services had been held regularly, except by a few suppressed anti-Nazi sects such as the Quakers and Jehovah's Witnesses, throughout the war and even during the invasion. Besides continuing these, church leaders hoped to revive their youth work and recover control of the elementary schools—eighty per cent of the total of all publicly

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supported elementary schools in Germany—taken from them by the Nazis. In those of the twenty-two regional churches making up the state-supported German Evangelical Church which had been under “German Christian,” that is to say Nazi, control, almost immediately after the collapse of the Hitler regime there were small ecclesiastical revolutions—palace revolutions they might be called—in which the leaders of the anti-Nazi faction, usually adherents of the Confessional Church, organized by Pastor Niemöller and his associates, took over the control of the local ecclesiastical machinery. As soon as possible these anti-Nazi leaders hoped to reorganize the national church itself, purging its offices of “German Christians” and shaping it to fit their future plans.

It appeared probable in 1945 that these future plans included the exercise of a considerable degree of political influence on the part of churchmen. In the summer of 1944 church leaders involved in the plot to assassinate Hitler approached, through contacts in Switzerland, the Allied authorities with the proposal that provisional local governmental committees to be organized by the conspirators should be recognized by the invading Allied forces as the legitimate government of Germany. Many other signs suggested that the clerical ideal was a Germany in which churchmen would play a prominent role, both as officials of important relief agencies and as advisers to the secular government. In their reaction from Nazi domination and Nazi secularizing tendencies these churchmen seemed—to some American observers, at least—to revert almost to the days of the Hohenzollerns to find a model for the Germany of the future. While the majority of them may not actually have desired an hereditary monarchy, since Hindenburg seemed to be their ideal, it would appear that they wanted a conservative regime in which Junkers and large manufacturers, along with the churchmen, would play the dominant role. Although the overwhelming majority of clergymen, both Catholic and Protestant, were conservative in their political and social views, a small minority in both camps were liberal. On the Catholic side the leader of this group was the Bavarian Dr. Müller. Dr. Paul Tillich, now of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, was the original leader of the Evangelicals of this type. After his emigration, the influence of his group dwindled, but Dr. Bultmann, Professor in the Theological Faculty at Marburg, remained to represent the liberal democratic group after the collapse of the Hitler regime.

The mention of political outlooks brings us to the policy of the Allied military government, for the concern of the occupation authorities with the church was solely political. Had it been possible for them to have avoided all dealings with religious affairs, they would have been only too glad to do so. Just as they felt uneasy in the presence of their chaplains, they wished to stay as far from civilian churchmen and their problems as they could. The military men had no desire to become involved in theological disputes. They were all too well aware of the political repercussions which would come from any appearance of favoring one denomination over another. Yet they were also aware that there would be political repercussions if they seemed callous to religious interests. They knew that churchmen had political influence both at home and in Germany. Consequently they realized that if they were to carry out their instructions to do the political job of building up a peaceful and a democratic Germany they would have to deal with the church. So they reluctantly set up a religious affairs section in their military government organization.

This meant the development and implementation of a policy for handling the responsibilities of the German government *vis à vis* the church so as to be most conducive to the construction of a peaceful and democratic regime of such stability that it would not collapse when the occupation troops were withdrawn. Of course, one of the first questions to arise when this policy-framing was undertaken was how to deal with the desire of the churchmen for a conservative regime in which they and their supporters might be politically influential. Most specific queries sent to Washington went unanswered, but the planners were given to understand that the military government was not to favor any one political faction in Germany. In the early period of occupation no political activity of any kind was to be permitted, but when it was, all shades of political opinion were to be treated alike as long as they were neither Nazi nor militaristic. In other words, the Germans in the U. S. Zone of Occupation were to be permitted to decide for themselves what shade of conservatism or liberalism they preferred, as long as it was a democratic shade.

That being the case, it was obvious that no commitments to support any one German political faction could be made. Communist, Social Democrat, and conservative churchmen were to be considered equal in the eyes of military government officials. Our policy was developed and carried out in that spirit. The re-

sult was about what the military government planners had anticipated, vehement criticism from both anticlerical and clerical camps. Mr. Victor Bernstein of the staff of *P. M.*, in an article entitled "Religion and the Fourth Reich" (Aug. 27, 1945), accused military government of favoring reaction and facilitating the development of a new nationalistic movement because it helped to arrange for the holding of national conventions of Catholic and Protestant churchmen, at which he not unnaturally assumed there was some discussion of political matters. On the other hand, the official representative of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Stewart Herman, referred in print to American military government policy as being virtually indistinguishable from that of the Nazis.² Because this sentiment has gained considerable currency in church circles in this country, our attention will be largely devoted to it.

There were three main principles of the religious affairs policy of U. S. military government, a policy which subsequently was accepted in its major outlines by the other three occupying powers. The first was to grant the German people freedom of religion as it was understood in western democratic countries. The second was to concede, in addition, the right of the German churches to all the governmental services enjoyed prior to the establishment of the Nazi regime. The third was to prevent the church or church activities from being used as a cloak for an underground resistance movement or for the perpetuation and dissemination of Nazi or militaristic sentiments. Each of these principles will be explained in turn.

Freedom of religion, of course, involved the right of assembly for religious services and the right to conduct these services. From the military point of view, this in itself was a considerable concession at a time when much werewolf activity and other kinds of civilian resistance were anticipated from the families of those who had so recently been firing on our men, and when under military law all assemblies of any sort could have been forbidden. Actually, services were often held the day after our troops entered a German city, and cases were common in which no Sunday service was missed during the period of collapse and occupation.

In addition, freedom of religion was interpreted as involving the right to print and circulate religious literature, and the right to hold religious conventions for all normal church purposes.

² Stewart Herman, *The Rebirth of the German Church* (New York, 1946), 106.

es. From the viewpoint of the military government authorities, each of these, under the prevailing conditions, were also major concessions to the church. Newsprint was scarce and all supplies of it were under military control. In many cases licenses to print meant that competing interests would lose the opportunity to publish their journals. In fact, in the first year of the occupation, two-thirds of all the periodicals allowed to appear were religious in nature. The holding of a religious convention meant the granting of travel permits, and in very many cases the provision of the means of transportation as well. Gasoline was very scarce and for a bishop from Berlin to cross the Russian zonal frontier *en route* west was virtually impossible unless an escorting officer accompanied him. So acute was this travel problem, in fact, that nearly half the time of the Allied religious affairs officers stationed in Berlin was devoted to helping churchmen solve it in the interests of reconstructing their shattered organizations. When the convention spot was finally reached, arrangements had to be made with local military government authorities to permit closed meetings and secret discussions. While these were traditional and desirable too, since churchmen could naturally be expected to wash more dirty linen in private than in public, when it came to eliminating Nazi influences, still such secret assemblies were contrary to normal military government regulations. Accordingly, prolonged negotiations were necessary before permission for them could be secured.

The second major point of occupation policy in this field provided for the grant to the German churches of all the government services enjoyed prior to the establishment of the Nazi regime. Specifically, this meant the continuation of various kinds of financial assistance, of which the most important was the collection by the public lay authorities from ninety per cent of all German adults of the church taxes or parish assessments, and the restoration to church control of those elementary schools where the parents of a specified number of students, usually twenty, requested such church control. The Nazis, who had not interfered with the traditional system of church finance, had abolished the denominational schools, and these were now to be given back to the churches if the parents so requested. Obviously these governmental practices were contrary to the American tradition of separation of church and state, but they were justified on two grounds. First, as experience in Sweden and England had shown, an established church is not incompatible with democracy and

therefore the German established churches did not need to be abolished in order to create a democratic Germany. Since the abolition of these established churches was not one of our announced war aims, there was no point in offending German civilian sensibilities by changing this traditional practice. Secondly, since we were to share the occupation responsibility with the British, French, and Russians, all of whom had patterns of church-state relations differing from ours, it was improbable that they could be brought to accept our pattern as a model for Germany. Any attempt to force the American system on our zone of Germany would result in corresponding moves in the other zones and so the Germans would be able to divide us and play one ally against another on the religious issue—something we were naturally anxious to avoid.

As a result of this decision, the German church under American control had far more help from the government than American churches receive. Many American military government officers resented this and accused religious affairs officers of un-American attitudes. Much diplomacy was necessary to allay opposition within our own ranks. If the religious affairs officers did not satisfy every desire of the churchmen, they at least worked hard to see that they received all that seemed reasonable in the circumstances.

The third policy point—the prevention of the use of church activities as a cloak for underground activity or for the dissemination of Nazi or militaristic ideas—is the one to which most exception has been taken by churchmen, both here and in Germany, and will therefore be explained in most detail. Under this policy, religious literature was subject to censorship and the new youth groups organized by the churches had to furnish reports on their activities. The German churchmen complained that these regulations were unreasonable intrusions on freedom of religion. The censorship applied to religious literature was, however, only that to which all publications were subject, one designed solely to eliminate material objectionable for political reasons, such as attacks on one or more of the occupation Powers. Similarly, the sole reason for the requirement of reports on youth activities, to which all secular youth groups were also subject, was to prevent them developing into Hitler Youth organizations under new names. No attempt was made to dictate or alter the religious content of religious literature or programs of youth activities, and it is hard to see how any occupation authority could have exempt-

ed the churches from supervision designed solely to prevent subversive political activity.

Most important of all was the problem of denazification. From the beginning of American planning for the occupation of Germany it had been obvious that if Nazi and militarist influences were to be eliminated from the Germany of the future, supporters of such theories would have to be removed not only from the government but also from prominent positions in educational and religious circles. At first only those were expected to fall under the ban who were very ardent supporters of these theories and who held important administrative positions. But with the abandonment of the Atlantic Charter attitude of moderate treatment of the vanquished and the substitution of the Morgenthau plan with its program of severity, more and more categories of people with Nazi associations and more and more types of positions were put on the black list. Eventually, it was announced as a general American policy that unless cleared by a complicated process of appeal, no one who had been a member of the Nazi party prior to 1937 or even connected with certain of its affiliates in any responsible way, should be employed at any but common labor in any business or profession. Although the phrase "common labor" was eventually interpreted to include clerical and other routine "white-collar" activity, these regulations were, of course, very severe. Under their terms, thousands of former Nazis lost their positions. For example, of the sixty thousand professors and school teachers in the U. S. Zone, over fifty per cent were discharged under these regulations. Had it been possible to devise an acceptable test for objectionable militaristic attitudes, similar to the party membership test in the field of Nazism, it is probable that thousands more would have been removed from their positions. As may easily be imagined, however, it was difficult for army officers to discover any method of searching out and labeling objectionable militaristic tendencies.

Once it had been decided—rightly or wrongly—that the success of the American occupation and its reeducation program demanded the removal from influential governmental business and professional positions of those with records of past Nazi or militaristic attitudes or associations, very little study of the situation was needed to show that it was necessary to effect some changes in church circles. Indeed, the German churchmen had recognized this themselves when in the first weeks following the collapse they had staged the clerical revolutions which removed

the "German Christian," that is to say, Nazi officials, from the control of those regional churches—including that of Prussia and most of the other Länder—which they had taken over early in the Nazi period. In a few cases the purge was extended to the occupants of ordinary pulpits, as in Berlin, where former German Christians were screened by one of the older conservative pastors.

U. S. military government authorities, however, were far from satisfied with the thoroughness of this voluntary denazification procedure. In the first place, the leaders in the reorganization of the Evangelical Church were not above suspicion themselves, particularly when it is recalled that in theory, at least, our policy required the removal of militaristic influences. The senior Evangelical cleric, Bishop Wurm of Württemberg, had received his original training in the days of the Hohenzollern Empire and still thought in terms of shaping religious organizations to fit what he regarded as important provincial differences between such regions as Württemberg and Bavaria, that is to say, he seemed to think in terms of the Germany of 1910. His physician son, who like thousands of others was originally represented as having joined the Nazi Party only to retain his position (in his case in a government hospital), was eventually sentenced to a year in prison for having concealed in answering his *Fragebogen* or questionnaire on past political activities the fact that he had been a member of the original Nazi Party during his student days in Munich. As is well known, Martin Niemöller, elected Vice-President of the Evangelical Church as reorganized at the first convention held under American military government auspices, was a former submarine officer in the Imperial German Navy. Perhaps not so well known is the fact given in his autobiography, that while studying theology at Münster in 1920, he organized a student battalion to give military support to the reactionary Kapp putsch against the Weimar Republic. Later he voted for Hitler. In his first press conference after coming into American hands he admitted having volunteered to serve in the German navy in 1939 and said that democracy would not work in Germany. In other conversations he justified the German invasion of Poland, and when his interrogators introduced the subject of Russia, the ex-officer's eyes lit up as he made suggestions on the most effective strategy to be used in an attack on our ally, which in his mind, as well as that of many other German clericals, appeared to be a consummation devoutly to be hoped for. At

his first opportunity Bishop Dibelius of Berlin, who had received part of his training at St. Andrews University, Scotland, told the American officer in charge of religious affairs that democracy would never take root in Germany, that the real struggle would be between communism and Christianity, presumably meaning continental clericalism, and that it was therefore necessary that the Western allies give vigorous support to him and his associates. Similar demands, insistent almost to the point of arrogance, came from Bishop Wurm himself.

In dealing with this situation, the first step on the part of military government was to require all German clergy in the American Zone to fill out the *Fragebogen* or questionnaire on past political connections and activities which was required of all other German civilian officials and prominent citizens. Compliance was not always easy to obtain, particularly in some of the higher ecclesiastical circles, but a mixture of firmness and diplomacy on the part of the officers in the field who made the actual contacts eventually secured the data desired. Examination of these returns showed how unsatisfactory the situation was. Several hundred clergy whose records were such that they would have been summarily discharged from any secular position were continuing to fill their pulpits. The former German Christian bishop of southern Hesse was preaching regularly in the largest church in Wiesbaden, the administrative headquarters for the entire region.

From the beginning in March, 1944, of the planning for military government in Germany, the intent had been if possible to persuade the German churchmen to do their own purging. Orders had been issued that no military government officer was to suspend or discharge any German clergyman, much less presume to deprive him of his clerical status. Accordingly, while military government officials did directly order the dismissal of teachers and others whose *Fragebogen* proved unsatisfactory, in the case of clergymen the findings were merely reported to their ecclesiastical superiors with a request for investigation and appropriate action. On the Catholic side, this procedure commonly proved adequate. The Church had had a rule of long standing prohibiting priests from joining the Nazi party and only a few had secretly done so. The bishops quickly and quietly took care of these cases. On the Protestant side, however, very little cooperation was at first obtained. Using the difficulty of communication as a pretext, the bishops delayed their answers for weeks and even

months. When replies were eventually extracted, they were commonly in the form of sweeping defenses which white-washed all the suspects. Bishop Meiser of Bavaria stated that after an investigation he was convinced that there was no sufficient reason to remove a clergyman who held the gold badge awarded those who were early Nazi Party members and who for five years had been a member of the SA, the Nazi storm troops. Several members of the administrative board of Bishop Wurm's diocese, whose *Fragebogen* proved unsatisfactory, continued to hold office long after formal notice was given of this fact. In conferences held with military government officers, Bishops Wurm and Meiser indicated their opposition to the American policy. To visiting American civilian clergymen, similar representations were made and soon the cry of persecution was raised.

Military government authorities did not deny the pressure was being exerted in order to ensure conformity with the general regulations for the occupied zone. No effort was made to conceal the fact that in the case of continued recalcitrance the clergy with spotted records would be subject to arrest and indefinite detention, the same as any other professional man falling in a similar category. It was, however, pointed out that in the long run it was unlikely that the cause of the church would be benefited should it acquire the reputation of being a refuge for Nazis, of being the only institution to escape the purging to which all other elements of German society were being subjected. Indeed, the anticlerical Social Democratic leaders, who by that time were free to carry on political activities, were already lodging vigorous protests against the favor being shown the churchmen in this respect.

In the end, the Evangelical Church leaders were given fixed deadlines, prior to which completion of the pending cases was expected. Rather than have military government authorities take direct action, they finally set in motion the ecclesiastical machinery which by August 1, 1946, retired or suspended from the exercise of their official functions 321 out of 19,129 clergy and church employees in the American Zone of Occupation. The introduction of the law of January, 1946, which turned denazification work over to the German civilian authorities, did not greatly alter the situation as all clergy with questionable *Fragebogen* were, like their lay brothers, required to stand trial on charges of Nazism and face possible removal from their positions or even detention in the most serious cases.

American denazification policy, therefore, cannot be said to have satisfied either the clericals or the anticlericals. The Social Democrats, generally anticlerical, though in most cases nominal church members, felt that the refusal of military government authorities to order the summary removal of suspect clergy from their pulpits was an evidence of favoritism shown to reactionary elements. The insistence by military government that the church should be allowed to do its own housecleaning and that individual trials should be given to clergymen, whose cases were so important from the point of view of public relations, was denounced as crass discrimination. On the other hand, no amount of reasoning would convince the churchmen that they were not enduring a new form of persecution not essentially different from that which they had known under the Nazis or under the short-lived communist regime in Bavaria in 1919. But the policy followed seemed necessary for the reasons indicated. If its critics remain unsatisfied, they may at least derive some consolation from the fact that as yet no satisfactory objective test of militarism has been devised and that consequently there remains unfulfilled that half of the original purging mission assigned to American military government in Germany, which, if carried out, might have had a much more drastic effect on the occupants of German pulpits. As it was, only in extreme cases where men of that stamp had committed themselves in print on militaristic themes, were they excluded from their positions. Most of the older churchmen were therefore left virtually undisturbed in the positions which so often they obtained on the record of their anti-Nazi activities. Many of them subsequently opposed most vigorously the efforts of genuine democratically minded liberals, such as Dr. Bultmann, to promote among theological students and others a sense of war guilt and a general attitude of internationalism rather than the traditional conservative nationalism of the old Evangelical churchmen.

After this summary of the details of military government policy as directly applied to the German churches and their activities, it may be suggested that the churches are operating about as normally as is possible in a country occupied by foreign troops. All the normal activities are being conducted, literature is being published, conventions held, and reorganizations have been effected. There are even major theological controversies, particularly on the question whether the churches and churchmen share in the guilt for the recent war and whether the or-

ganization of the future Evangelical Church should emphasize the confessional element or the traditional pattern of the Lutheran *Land* church. But space does not permit detailed treatment of these topics.

One last point must be mentioned. During the war it was generally anticipated that the elimination of the repressive Nazi regime would bring about a great revival of religious interest in Germany. But although not all of the increase in church attendance noted at the height of the Allied bombing attacks has been lost since those days, the anticipated upsurge in religious interest has not materialized. While it is possible that the failure of the occupation authorities to support the claims of churchmen and their friends to political preeminence may have had some adverse effect on church life, it seems more likely that a much greater barrier to progress in the religious field has been the general economic stagnation in which defeated Germany has been left. By restricting the German people to the standard of living of the average of the other European countries except Russia and England, the Potsdam Agreement theoretically put the German people back to two-thirds of their 1938 standard. Actually in the chaos of defeat and four power zonal division of the country, only 29% of the permitted 66% of 1938 production has been achieved. The result is a nation of seventy million existing amid the ruins of its former cities, on semi-starvation rations, with an influx of seven million refugees from the eastern areas cleared by the Poles and Czechs. In the face of this appalling economic catastrophe the average minister has been forced to leave the Word of God to serve tables. Besieged on all sides with requests for help, torn by the sight of suffering in his own family, destitute of nearly all materials with which to reconstruct his bombed church building, and half-famished for reading matter and companionship by the chronic paper shortage and difficult communications, he can do little more than try to hold his flock together and hope for better days. What the future holds for him and his followers is probably less a matter of the details of military government policy on religious affairs than of what the average American voter and taxpayer is willing to do toward developing and implementing a constructive policy on foreign affairs in general and on Germany in particular.

MINUTES OF THE
SIXTY-SECOND CONSECUTIVE MEETING
OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

APRIL 11-12, 1947

The American Society of Church History held its spring meeting at the School of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, on Friday and Saturday, April 11th and 12th, 1947. The theme of the meeting was "The Religious Situation in Post-War Europe."

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

President Ernest G. Schwiebert called the meeting to order at 2:30 P. M. 57 members and guests were present.

The first paper, "The Religious Situation in Czechoslovakia," was read by Matthew Spinka of Hartford Theological Seminary. The second paper, "The Religious Situation in Hungary," was read by Professor Bela Vasady of the University of Debrecen, Hungary.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION

After the dinner, the Society was called into business session by Vice-President Marshall M. Knappen. 55 members and guests were present.

The minutes of the spring meeting of May 10-11, 1946, were approved as printed in *Church History* for June, 1946.

The Society heard with sorrow from the secretary of the death of Professor Calvin Montague Clark, a member since 1922.

The resignations of George N. Edwards, Eugen Rosenstock Huessy and Wallace E. Miller, reported by the secretary, were accepted with regret.

The award of the Frank S. Brewer Prize for 1946 to Franklin H. Littell for his study "The Anabaptist View

of the Church" was announced, and Dr. Littell was introduced to the Society.

The secretary reported that at the meeting of the Council preceding the dinner nineteen members had been elected, subject to fulfillment of the constitutional requirements. (See the list in the Minutes of the Council.).

The Society was informed from the Council of the resignation of Robert Hastings Nichols from the Editorial Board, after many years of distinguished and invaluable service. The resignation which was to take effect in December, 1947, was accepted with very great regret.

It was reported from the Council that the secretary had been requested to convey to the administration and faculty of the School of Religion and of Butler University the appreciation of the Society for their gracious hospitality; and that the Committee on Program and Arrangements for the spring meeting of 1948 would consist of Carl E. Schneider and Theodore Hoyer, with power to add other members. The business session was adjourned at 7:20 P. M.

The paper of the evening, on "The Religious Situation in England," was read by Professor Arnold Nash of McCormick Theological Seminary.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION

President Schwiebert called the Society to order at 10:00 A. M. 41 members and guests were present.

Marshall M. Knappen of Michigan State College read the first paper, on "Allied Military Government Policy and the Religious Situation in Germany." The second paper, on "The Religious Situation in the Scandinavian Countries," was read by Professor Carl C. Rasmussen of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg.

The Society adjourned at 12 M.

Attest: WINTHROP S. HUDSON,
Assistant Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

April 11, 1947

President Ernest G. Schwiebert of the American Society of Church History called the Council to order on April 11, 1947 at 5:00 P. M. in the School of Religion of Butler University. Those in attendance were Ernest G. Schwiebert, M. M. Knappen, James H. Nichols, Matthew Spinka, Winthrop S. Hudson.

The minutes of the meeting of May 10, 1946, were approved as printed in *Church History* for June, 1946.

The secretary reported the following changes in membership: *Death*: Calvin Montague Clark; *Resignations*: George N. Edwards, Eugen Rosenstock Huessy, Wallace E. Miller.

By unanimous vote of the Council, the following persons were elected members of the Society, subject to the fulfillment of the constitutional requirements:

Amos L. Boren	Edward F. Little
Harrison Davis	Elmer G. Million
John W. Doberstein	Robert M. Murphy
Theodore C. Edquist	Magnus Notvedt
Noah E. Fehl	Cuthbert Pratt
Norman V. Hope	H. L. Rasmussen
Merrill L. Hutchins	Allen Reddick
Melvin A. Kimble	David Clark Shipley
John George Kuethe	Claude E. Spencer
Samuel E. Stumpf	

Professor Spinka read a letter from Professor Robert Hastings Nichols in which he tendered his resignation as a member of the Editorial Board. The resignation was accepted with regret and Professor Spinka was instructed to convey to Professor Nichols the profound appreciation

of the Society for the invaluable services he has rendered in that capacity. A committee consisting of Professors Spinka, Schwiebert, Hudson and Nichols was appointed to submit a proposal for the reorganization of the Editorial Board at the annual meeting in December.

On motion of Professor Knappen, the secretary was instructed to express appreciation to Dean Sheldon for the courtesy and gracious hospitality extended to the members of the Society.

The following committee on Program and Arrangements for the Spring Meeting of 1948 was appointed by the president with power to add other members: Carl E. Schneider and Theodore Hoyer.

The Council adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

Attest.: WINTHROP S. HUDSON,
Assistant Secretary

BOOK REVIEWS

THE INTELLECTUAL ADVENTURE OF ANCIENT MEN

ESSAY ON SPECULATIVE THOUGHT IN THE
ANCIENT NEAR EAST

By H. and H. A. FRANKFORT, JOHN A. WILSON, THORKILD JACOBSEN,
WILLIAM A. IRWIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.
vi, 401 pages. \$4.00.

Once when Professor G. F. Moore asked a question about a passage in the book of Samuel, I replied youthfully, "David thought. . . ." Moore interrupted, "How do you know what was in the head of a man dead these three thousand years?" The criticism did me good, but made me realize how much I should like to know what the ancients thought. In *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* the question is dealt with in a competent fashion. The groundwork of history is the study of events in chronological sequence; but the study is unsatisfactory unless real progress is made in understanding the thought and motive of those involved.

Three things stand out in this reader's mind as notable here. In the first place, the work is the product of five competent scholars, whose contributions fit together in a thoroughly integrated fashion. It is an excellent illustration of what corporate effort of the diverse scholarship of a university can produce.

Second, the interpretation of the thought of Egypt and of Assyria is deeply satisfying. G. F. Moore's question has its answer. The monotonous literature of Egypt, and the complexity of Mesopotamian documents, are made meaningful in terms of motives that must have produced them.

Third, the interpretation of the thought underlying the Hebrew-Jewish Scriptures is, at first reading, less satisfying. Here is no simple formula, that we should easily say, "David thought. . . ." But of course if a simple formula had been presented, it would be inadequate. The reader of the Old Testament knows that its thought-world cannot be reduced to simplicity; and the reader of Professor Irwin's interpretation finds its breadth proportionate to the much larger outlook of those in whose minds came the urgency of the natural and moral order of God Universal. That this part of the book is harder to understand is because its subject is richer and more universal.

This is a great book which should be eagerly read by all students of the ancient world and of its greatest product, the Old Testament.

Hartford Theological Seminary.

Moses Bailey.

THE STORY OF THE FAITH

A SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY
FOR THE UNDOGMATIC

By WILLIAM ALVA GIFFORD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. xiii, 622 pages. \$5.00.

Professor Gifford of Montreal intends his book "for the many persons who have read history but have never read the history of the Christian religion" (vii). These people will find in it a history that is "occident-centered," as Professor Latourette would say, with a vengeance. "Writing for the western world, I have said nothing of the Greek and Eastern Churches, after the lamentable separation of East from West" (vii). Not only so, but this "story of the faith" contains in the treatment of the modern period very little concerning the most characteristic expression in this time of the faith held in "the western world," that is Christian missions, Protestant or Roman Catholic; the younger churches resulting from these missions are as though they were not; and writing in 1946 the author gives to the ecumenical Christian movement only a mention in a footnote of the Edinburgh and Stockholm conferences of 1910 and 1925 and a disparaging reference to church unions accomplished.

Within this limited framework Professor Gifford sets a narrative of western Christianity which is praiseworthy, down to modern times. He begins with a rightfully extended account of Jewish history and religion, from which light is thrown on Christianity. His version of the history of the church has distinguished merits, masterful learning, skilful generalizations, grasp of facts and their meanings such that the woods are not lost for the trees while yet details give color and memorableness, vivid characterizations of great persons. He writes with sustained vivacity and power, rising to eloquence, and with flashes of humor. Some unconventional points of arrangement might be said to be not advantages, and there are defects of emphasis; for example the Anabaptists are decidedly slighted. But here is a rendering of western Christianity over a great part of its course which is instructive and sometimes diverting. Not so much, unfortunately, can be said for the treatment of the last two hundred years. Here the hand is less firm and the vision less clear. Political and intellectual movements and events in the field of religion are intermingled, with little distinct depiction of general religious conditions or tracing of developments. There are sketchy reports of things and repetitions and inaccuracies. Five pages are given to American Christianity, and the only events of the last hundred years mentioned are the formation of the Reformed Episcopal Church and of the Student Volunteer Movement.

Spirited and interesting as is the history down to modern times, there is about it a certain remoteness. The reason is not far to seek. It lies in the author's theological or philosophical position, about which he is candid. This appears in that he holds to what he calls "nature mysticism." "Juda-

ism arose upon foundations in the experience and teaching of Moses in essence his experience was that of communion with the Universe and appeal to the Universe from the decisions of men and circumstances. . . . This element of nature mysticism never quite failed in Judaism" (42). Augustine, it is said, "was at one with himself, and with the Ultimate Life of the Universe" (222). The position appears in what is said about revelation. "Religion calls such new insight a 'revelation'; but it is probably not different in character from that sudden flash of insight familiar to scientists . . ." (14). "Liberalism knows that what is discoverable from human nature and history is the real revelation of God in the world" (577). An indication of the position is that at the end of the Reformation period it said that "Humanism had come to stay," that "It would one day assert its rights," and that "There would then be a third Christianity, different from both Romanism and Protestantism" (407). It comports with Professor Gifford's general view that he says nothing about Luther's despair in the monastery and deliverance by the grace of God, as he regarded it, and the relation of this to the Reformation. "Luther was another devout Catholic Humanist, going direct to the Scriptures . . . , but in danger of drawing therefrom conclusions that Catholicism had not drawn. Before long he became known as a reformer" (342).

It is superfluous to remark that all this thinking is out of sympathy with what has ruled in the main stream of Christian history. The fact is that Professor Gifford thinks that this history has been a mistake. "It is from the parables and the Sermon on the Mount, made alive by the example of Jesus, that Christianity sprang" (583). These "teachings" were overlain first by "the Gospel," then by "a metaphysical creed," by "a group of saving mysteries, the sacraments, and a discipline," by scholasticism etc. The whole thing was a falling away from the origin and rightful norm in "a new law of conduct." The remoteness of tone is explained.

Explained also are the author's diagnosis of the present and forecast of the future. "Protestantism approaches exhaustion," because "the new view of the Bible" causes it no longer to be regarded, except in the "arrested development" of Fundamentalism, as a revelation from God. "The Roman Church can minister to humanity only in a way outmoded." The question arises, "Is Christianity made obsolete by the advance of knowledge? The answer lies with Christian Liberalism," which "has made . . . the essential concessions to the modern mind" (583). "the only road to one more invigoration of the faith . . . leads back to the parables of the Lord and the Sermon on the Mount." "Protestantism ought now to go behind the Bible to Christ Himself" (583). But of this road Professor Gifford thinks that "the churches are not likely to take it, unless—which is not impossible—the ghastly confusion of world politics and economics should work in the churches the grace of a sudden conversion" (583). One wonders what impression a "story of the faith" ending in this *débâcle* is likely to make on "the undogmatic."

Union Theological Seminary.

Robert Hastings Nichols.

PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

By WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946. 296 pages. \$4.00.

Professor Hyde, the well-known classicist of the University of Pennsylvania, intended to give "an informative account within reasonable limits" of the rise and "transformation of Christianity into a secularized institution during its struggle with the pagan order of the Roman Empire." This intention the author has carried out with admirable success. In a survey which covers the first five centuries of the Christian era and frequently refers to many preceding and subsequent centuries, no two scholars would select the same facts, nor would they very often agree in the interpretation of the facts, but no scholar could state more facts, or pronounce more judgments in less than three hundred pages.

The author deals successively with the native religion of the Romans, the Greek and Oriental mystery religions, Judaism, the personality of Jesus, the teaching of Jesus, the progress of Christianity, and the triumph of Christianity. Excursuses are added on the origin of Christmas, on Sunday observance, and on St. Peter and Rome. This scope of subject matter makes the work most welcome, since few books have been produced in the United States which deal with the rise of Christianity on an historical basis so comprehensively conceived.

The author's competence in the use of Greek and Roman literature and other, non-literary sources constitutes the most valuable single feature of the text and the numerous footnotes. It produces best results in the first two chapters. They compare most favorably with other treatments of similar length of Roman religion and of the mystery religions. Although Mr. Hyde admits that Augustus' program for the revival of native cults was more political than religious in aim, he assesses it in exaggerated terms as an outstanding event in the history of Roman religion and as a phenomenon unique in the whole history of religion. Conversely, he underestimates the spiritual, moral, and political impact of Stoicism upon the Graeco-Roman world from the times of Panaetius, Polybius, and the Scipionic circle to Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius.

The brief chapter on Judaism contains a compact outline of Hebrew-Jewish history and thought from Abraham to the advent of Islam. The chapter on "The Personality of Jesus" contains summary discussions of the modern criticism of the gospels, of the ancient non-Christian sources for earliest Christianity, of the synoptic problem, of the death and resurrection accounts, and only the briefest comments on the personality of Jesus. Jesus' teaching was not new; it was fully anticipated by both Greeks and Jews—the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man. It was the "dynamic personality" of Jesus which lent force and effectiveness to this teaching (p. 147). At this important point even Mr. Hyde's own analysis of the sources fails to back up his judgment.

The account of the progress and triumph of Christianity culminates in a discussion of the causes of the growth of Christianity (pp. 185-92),

and of the causes of Rome's decline (pp. 222-25). Both discussions contain suggestive and useful summaries of modern critical opinion.

Mr. Hyde's own decisive generalizations are, first, that "the dynamic personality of Jesus" transformed the whole Western world (p. 146, *et passim*), and second, that Christianity was effective throughout the centuries in the perverted and adulterated form of Paul's theology. Mr. Hyde approves of Jesus and disapproves of Paul, following the tradition of Renan, Nietzsche, George Bernard Shaw, Wrede, and Klausner. These generalizations are overestimates of the historical significance of both Jesus and Paul. They also suffer from an exaggeration of the differences between Jesus and Paul.

Among the typographical errors two are perhaps deserving of correction. On p. 97 read 18:2 for 28:2; on p. 222 read 423 for 323. The reference to Pius XI as "the present pope" (p. 238) indicates that a number of years have gone into the preparation of this volume.

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Paul Schubert.

AN INTRODUCTION TO DIVINE AND HUMAN READINGS BY CASSIODORUS SENATOR

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by LESLIE WEBBER JONES.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. xvii, 233 pages.

This latest addition to the distinguished translations in the *Records of Civilization* series will be most welcome to teachers and students of church history. Few works have had such far-reaching influence upon the course of Western culture as Cassiodorus' manual, *Institutiones*. It was the indispensable bibliographical guide of medieval libraries. The present translation is based primarily upon the excellent edition of Mynors (1937), and in every way is a model of careful scholarship.

Cassiodorus himself stated (i.21) the purpose of his work, which was addressed to his monks at Vivarium—(and it must be remembered that Cassiodorus himself never became a monk or abbot of his monastic foundation):

... we have written for the instruction of simple and unpolished brothers, in order that they may be filled with an abundance of Heavenly Scriptures by reading many authors who have been explained even in our own time; in order that they may be laudably imbued, not so much with us, who are poor in this matter, as with the copious and ancient Fathers. But lest those who have not attended worldly schools lack something, we have felt that they ought to be reminded, in the second book, of the arts as well as the sciences of secular letters, in order that skill in worldly letters, which except for the additions of certain learned men is known to have arisen from the Sacred Scriptures, may serve simple men as their slave.

Something of the spirit which Cassiodorus transmitted to his followers may be seen in these remarks: "Every word of the Lord written by a scribe is a wound inflicted on Satan" (i.30); "Surely the occasion for sin would be taken away if the restless mind of mortals had no idle time" (i. 16): "the library of the monastery may derive profit through the Lord's aid

and your toil, a combination through which very great accomplishments have been effected" (i.8). Modern students may not accept the principle, though they must be thankful that Cassiodorus did so, which he learned from a blind scholar from Asia named Eusebius, "that nothing was useless, even if it did not give a very excellent idea of a particular matter" (i.5).

The translator in his introduction has given Cassiodorus the credit of making "the monastery a theological school and a *scriptorium* for the multiplication" of books, though he points out earlier precedents, beginning with the rule of St. Pachomius. In this connection he might have referred to the interests of St. Basil in the educational work of monasteries, and particularly to the example of Rufinus' house in Palestine.

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Massey H. Shepherd, Jr.

ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS AND SCHOLARS

By ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. x, 488 pages. \$5.00.

The subjects of the four biographies are Aldhelm of Malmesbury, Wilfred of York, Bede of Jarrow, and Boniface of Devon. The author has given extensive study to the Anglo-Saxon period, and shows a sympathetic appreciation of its great leaders and a recognition of the notable contributions which they made to British culture. She gives due acknowledgement to Aldhelm's debt to Maelduib and the Celtic influences, and portrays him as a unique force in the literature of his time. The first Saxon to be renowned for his Latin verses and the man who strove hard to impart to his students the culture that Ireland and Italy had inextricably entwined in him, he was withal a beloved abbot and teacher, who "left the peace of his abbey that he might minister to a restless world" and "loved his books only less than he loved his holy Church."

The activities of the indefatigable Wilfred reflected his early environment; he understood the problems of his day, and knew that strenuous times demanded force and determination. A renowned builder, a man with a fastidious sense of the beautiful, a wise and prophetic soul, he was one who could inspire confidence and loyalty. For forty-five years he was a bishop among men, and his career was far from peaceful. Yet his devotion to the Church sustained him through controversy and conflicts; and he gave to the Church all that he had. "For her he drew from every source, far and near, the magnificence which should make her shrines all glorious within and without; for her he used to the full that sense of loveliness in art and design which was especially his own, and left his mark on buildings and monuments of northern and middle England." The Celtic Church was unable to satisfy his needs; he was not of that stern simplicity which could utterly forego the world and its ways, but he sought a faith "articulate in complex organism of grand proportion and nice detail, visible in form and in colour, in ritual and in rule throughout the world."

The Venerable Bede must be regarded as a man of manifold gifts. In his *History* he bequeathed a compendium of his knowledge of the history, science, and faith of his country, his day, and his Church, all expressed in simplicity, honesty, and beauty. But Bede's less tangible legacy was inestimable; for he toiled unceasingly for the enlightenment of men in the ways of God and he impressed his pupils with the standards and high idealism which caused the beams of learning to shine afar into a dark and dreary world. His pupil, friend, and bishop, Egbert, was to train the Cathedral school of York the man, Alcuin, to whom Europe was to owe much intellectual inspiration.

Boniface, the Apostle to the Germans, always cast a longing, lingering look behind; his debt to the Saxon Church was never forgotten, and his deference to the aged Bishop Daniel is one of the most beautiful facts in the history of those confused and chaotic decades in which he toiled and suffered. The author appropriately quotes the letter of Archbishop Cuthbert (A. D. 754), bewailing the death of the noble missionary while rejoicing that it was vouchsafed the English to send out "so splendid a searcher into sacred learning, so excellent a soldier of Christ . . . for the sowing unto harvest among many souls through the grace of Almighty God."

St. John's Rectory, Mobile, Alabama.

Edgar Legare Pennington.

THE RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS MIND

By GEORGE P. FEDOTOV. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946. xvi, 438 pages. \$6.00.

In this first volume of his grandiose project, Professor Fedotov deals only with the Kievan, pre-Mongolian period. The work is to comprise ultimately the entire scope of Russian religious history. But the author does not aim to tell the story of Russian Christianity in the usual, chronological manner. His aim is to present—perhaps for the first time in its entirety—a detailed study and analysis of Russian spirituality, of Russian religious mind. In this his undertaking is an original piece of research, hitherto largely unattempted, except for his own Russian work, *Svyatye drevnei Rusy* (*Saints of Ancient Russia*), published in Paris in 1931.

The author begins his task by describing Russian pre-Christian paganism. In three later chapters he returns to this theme in a detailed study of the ancient chroniclers, and particularly in an analysis of the epic poem, *The Tale of Igor*, in which many surviving features of paganism—albeit modified by Christianity—are clearly discernible.

The newly converted Russians produced a number of representatives of Byzantine intellectualism. Among them were Clement Smoliatich, a Biblical exegete; Cyril of Turov, an orator; and Hilarion of Kiev, the foremost native theologian. But all were mere imitators, for fundamentally Russians made but a poor record in the cultural realm.

Nevertheless, they did give the Christian tradition a native character: they understood the Scriptures, particularly the Gospels, for these were accessible to them in what was then the vernacular. They singled out

the virtue of Christian humility and made it the most characteristic feature of Russian Christianity. This "kenoticism" is characteristic of popular religion even in modern times, as any reader of Dostoevsky knows very well. St. Theodosius, who along with St. Anthony was the founder of the Pecherskaya Lavra in Kiev, made kenoticism the very basis of his spiritual life and of the type of monasticism which he represented. This was not predominantly a mystical or contemplative type, but resembled most closely the early Franciscan ideals.

Furthermore, the author analyses the theological emphases which comprised the idea of salvation from death rather than from sin, and of freedom of the will. A great deal of stress was placed upon ritualism and liturgical symbolism. In keeping with the prevailing emphasis on good, moral life, the sacrament of penance, rather than the eucharist, was stressed. Popular or lay Christianity was best represented by Prince Vladimir Monomakh, who conceived of Christianity in terms of active virtues of good, moral life, rather than those of contemplation.

The author has accomplished his intention admirably. In a few instances he fails to conform to the system of transliteration he himself uses (as, for instance in "Monomach" and "Monomachovichi," which should have been transliterated as "Monomakh"; furthermore, the Czech name "Vachlav" should be "Václav"). But such minor matters of typography detract not at all from the scholarly character of the work as a whole. The continuation of Professor Fedotov's work is eagerly awaited.

The Hartford Seminary Foundation.

Matthew Spinka.

THE PARISH CHEST: A STUDY OF THE RECORDS OF PAROCHIAL ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND

By W. E. TATE. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946. 346 pages. \$4.75.

In 1538 Thomas Cromwell enjoined every parish to provide a "sure coffer" with two locks as a depository for the parochial register of weddings, christenings, and burials. Thus was regularized the ancient custom of using a "parish chest," not only for the safe-keeping of offerings and vestments, but for the preservation of parochial records as well. In the well ordered parish the chest ultimately served as a repository for—in addition to the parish registers—the church-wardens' accounts, the charity accounts, the vestry minutes, the petty constable's accounts, the records of Poor Law administration, the records of highway maintenance and open-field agriculture, and documents of similar character.

Quite obviously the parish chests contain "pay dirt" for the historian, and the present volume is designed as a handbook for those who would engage in the task of digging and refining the ore. This purpose is admirably fulfilled. The various types of records are classified and described in detail, and their contents are related to the varying social conditions they reflect and illustrate. Not the least useful features of the book are the excellent glossary of terms and the classified bibliography.

The impression should not be given that this volume is useful only to the person actually engaged in the study of the hitherto largely unexplored documents of English local history. The book is much more than merely a handbook to guide research, for in performing that function it presents a detailed and frequently vivid picture of ecclesiastical administration at the parish level—one of the most important but frequently neglected aspects of religious life so far as historians are concerned. Mr. Tate brings the parish officials back to life again, and from the evidence left behind in their own parish chests he reveals their duties and responsibilities, the problems in which they were immersed, and the manner in which they applied and enforced the laws and regulations.

The author betrays the characteristic spirit of the antiquarian by his occasional wistful references to the "old days" and by his marked distaste for the "alleged" reforms of the past century.

University of Chicago.

Winthrop S. Hudson.

THE LIFE AND LABORS OF THE
REV. JAMES I. GOOD, D.D., LL.D., 1850-1924

By KARL GRAMM. Webster Groves, Missouri: The Old Orchard Publishers, for Herbert H. Wernecke, 1944.

This book is long overdue; but none the less welcome, especially among the ministers and members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. It will be read and consulted for generations far beyond the bounds of the church in which Dr. Good spent his life. He became known by his books and travels throughout the United States, in Europe and in Asia.

Dr. Good was a man of many talents, inherited from his ancestors and developed in schools and in a diversified ministry of fifty years. He was a descendant of Jacob Guth (Good) of Zweibruecken, Germany, who came to America in 1765 and settled in Pennsylvania. His forebears in this country were almost without exception ministers or teachers in the Reformed Church in the United States, some in Ohio and others in Pennsylvania. By heritage and training he was prepared for the manifold offices to which he was appointed in his mother church. He was educated in Lafayette College and Union Theological Seminary, New York. He served as minister of three congregations, the first at York, the second at Philadelphia and the third at Reading. He was chosen professor of church history in Ursinus College and later professor of theology in the Ursinus School of Theology. He was an inveterate traveller; it is said that he crossed the Atlantic fifty-two times. When he was president of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church he visited the missions in Japan and China and encircled the earth.

In his early ministry he became interested in the history of the Reformed Church in Europe. The most important of his historical books were: *The Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany* (1887), *The History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*, *The*

History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century (1911), *The History of the Swiss Reformed Cantons of Switzerland* (1913). At least ten more historical books and pamphlets were written by him, all of which were about the Reformed Church in Europe or America. He wrote many articles for quarterly reviews and weekly church papers. He was President of the American Society of Church History, and Vice-President of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches Throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System. After the first World War he represented the American Section of the Central Bureau of Relief, with headquarters in Geneva. Almost every summer he visited the churches in the Near East, bringing them not only cordial greetings and encouragement in their afflictions, but also material aid, much of which he contributed himself. Professor M. A. Curtis of Edinburgh said: "I do not think that since the days of Dr. Schaff, and going further back, since the days of John Dury, the old apostle of church unity for Scotland, there has been a friend to our weak and threatened churches compared with Professor Good of Philadelphia."

In recognition of his benevolent services for the congregations, ministers and schools of the Reformed Church in Hungary, Dr. Good was elected honorary professor in the Theological Seminary of Papa. He was president of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States from 1911 to 1914. In his later years he was a delegate of the Reformed Church in the Federal Council. He was an ardent advocate of church unity.

This book contains factual statements showing high appreciation from the congregations which he served, from fellow-ministers of many denominations, and especially from students for the ministry to whom he gave generous aid. Chapter X contains a brief but informative autobiography, including a list of his books and pamphlets.

Dr. Good was an indefatigable collector of books, pamphlets, church orders, congregational records, and biographical data of ministers of the Reformed Church in the United States from 1710, the arrival of Samuel Guldin, to 1924, the last year of his life. This collection is now in the library of Eden Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, at Webster Groves, Missouri.

This book should be in every library of the schools, the ministers and the members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. It will be read with interest, especially by church historians, both in the United States and in Europe. The substance of the statements made above is written in clear and attractive style in twelve chapters, the headings of which enable the reader to refer to the different activities of Dr. Good's life.

Lancaster, Pa.

George W. Richards.

RECENT ARTICLES ON CHURCH HISTORY

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AMONG THE MEMBERS

EDITED BY WINTHROP S. HUDSON

- MILTON V. ANASTOS, assistant professor of Byzantine Theology in Harvard University, has published "The Alexandrian Origin of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes," in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 3.
- ROLAND H. BAINTON of Yale Divinity School has published an article, "The Early Church and War," in the *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIX, 3 (July, 1946) and "Eyn wunderliche Weyssagung, Osiander-Sachs-Luther," in the *Germanic Review*, XXI, 3 (Oct., 1946). He gave the Nathaniel Taylor lectures at the Yale Convocation on "Luther's Religion" in April, 1947.
- HENRY G. J. BECK has been promoted to be professor of Church History in the Immaculate Conception Seminary of Darlington, New Jersey. He is the author of "William Hundleby's Account of the Anagni Outrage" in the *Catholic Historical Review*, 32 (July, 1946).
- A. T. DEGROOT, dean of Chapman College, delivered four lectures on "The Restoration Principle," at the School of Religion, Butler University in February, 1947.
- ROBERT F. GIBSON, JR., former associate professor of Church History in the Virginia Theological Seminary, has been made Dean of the School of Theology of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
- GEORGE F. HALL is the author of *Beneath the Cross of Jesus*, published by the Augustana Press.
- E. R. HARDY, JR. was a member of the delegation of the World Council of Churches which visited the Eastern Orthodox churches during January and February, 1947.
- WINTHROP S. HUDSON has been appointed professor of American Christianity and Administrative Associate in the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.
- FREDERICK KUHN received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago in March. He has published "Congregationalism in Indiana to 1858," in the *Indiana Magazine of History* (Dec., 1946) and "New School Presbyterians, Home Missions, and Slavery," in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* (Dec., 1946).
- PAUL KUNTZ, who has been appointed an instructor in the Department of Religion and Biblical Literature in Smith College, is the author of an article on "The Nature of Religion," to be published in the *Journal of Religious Thought*. He delivered special lectures at Meadville Theological School in November, 1946.
- F. H. LITTELL is now Director of Lane Hall at the University of Michigan. He published "The Anabaptist Theology of Missions," in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Jan., 1947) and "Some Thoughts on the

Future of Judaism and Christianity," in the *Reconstructionist* (March 27, April 3, 1947).

BENJAMIN LOTZ resigned the pastorate of the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church on Feb. 1, 1947 to do graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania.

THOMAS T. McAVOY of the University of Notre Dame has published an article, "The Abbe Rivet at Vincennes (1795-1804)," in *Mid-America*, Jan. 1947.

RUTH E. MESSENGER has had the following articles published: "Notker Balbulus," *Catholic Choirmaster*, Sept. 1946; "Adam of St. Victor," *Classical Outlook*, Feb. 1947; "Hymnista," *Speculum*, Jan. 1947; "Mozarabic Hymns in Relation to Contemporary Culture in Spain," *Traditio*, 1946.

CONRAD H. MOEHLMAN, professor emeritus, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, is the author of *The Church as Educator*, published by Hinds, Hayden and Eldridge; and an article, "Christianity and the United Nations," in *Religious Education*, Jan.-Feb., 1947.

JOHN B. MOOSE, formerly Dean of the Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, is now professor of Historical Theology in that institution.

J. R. NOFFSINGER has been appointed professor of New Testament in the University of Richmond, Virginia.

WILLIAM M. ORR is now the minister of the Catalina Methodist Church, Tucson, Arizona.

RICHARD D. PRICE of Andover-Newton Theological School has been appointed also professor of History at Emerson College, Boston.

ELIZABETH F. ROGERS of Wilson College is the author of *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, published by Princeton University Press.

HENRY M. SHIRES has received the Th.D. degree from the Pacific School of Religion and is the author of "The Meaning of the Term 'Nazarene'," *Anglican Theological Review*, Jan. 1947.

EDWARD D. STARR, curator of the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, announces that the first volume of the *Baptist Bibliography* which he has been preparing will be published by the Judson Press in June, 1947. The volume will be about two hundred pages in length and will include all entries beginning with "A."

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS of Pacific School of Religion has been appointed assistant professor of Church History at Harvard Divinity School.

Notices for this department, announcing publication of books, professional articles, and changes of rank and position of members of the Society, should be sent to Winthrop S. Hudson, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester 7, New York.

IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR CALVIN MONTAGUE CLARK, D.D.

Dr. Clark was born in Hartford, Wis., January 30, 1862. He was graduated from Williams College with the class of 1884, and attended Andover Theological Seminary where he was a member of the class of 1888. From 1888 to 1890 he pursued graduate work at the University of Berlin. He was ordained in 1890 and was serving the Centre Congregational Church of Haverhill, Massachusetts in 1906 when called to the chair of church history in Bangor Theological Seminary, to which position he was inaugurated in 1909 and held until his retirement in 1936.

Dr. Clark was the author of the centennial *History of Bangor Theological Seminary* (1916); two volumes of the *History of the Congregational Churches in Maine*, the first of which details the story of the Maine Missionary Society from 1807 to 1925. His work toward the completion of this Maine history expanded at one time into *American Slavery and Maine Congregationalists* (1940). He left several finished manuscripts but an incomplete survey of the last century of his studies of this local history. He had also written a survey of *Seventy-five Years of Centre Church*.

He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Delta Upsilon, and numerous academic societies. He was active in the forming of the Congregational Conference of Maine, serving as its president from 1912 to 1915. He served as a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was an officer for some time of the Bangor Historical Society, and served for several years as chairman of the Bangor School Board.

Bangor Theological Seminary.

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FRANK S. BREWER PRIZE AWARD, 1946

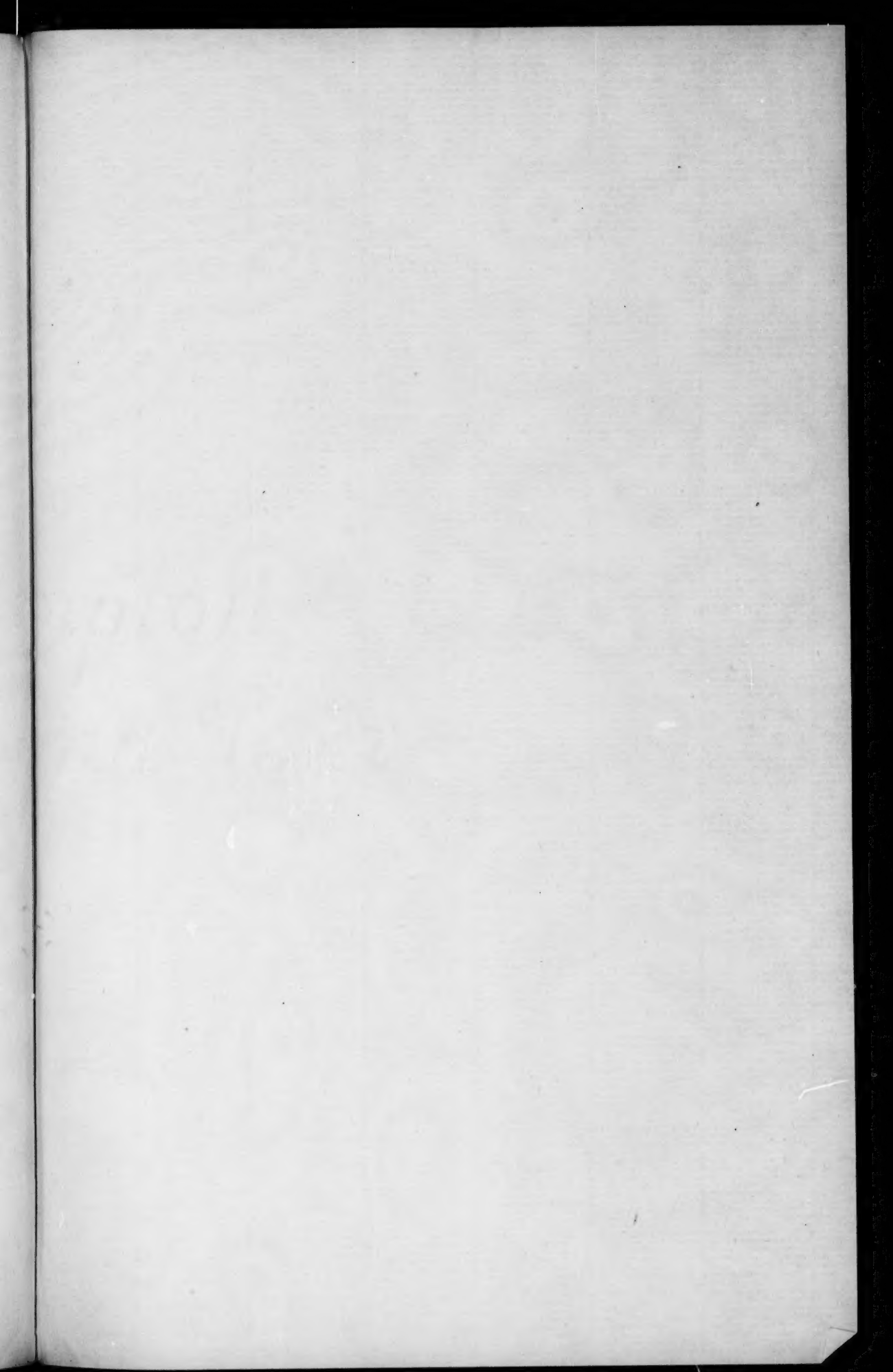
Although belatedly, it is still with satisfaction that the jury appointed for the purpose, and the editorial board to which the choice was additionally referred, report that the Frank S. Brewer Prize for 1946 was awarded to Dr. Franklin H. Littell of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, for his study of *The Anabaptist View of the Church*. This work will be published in *Studies of Church History* as soon as arrangements can be made.

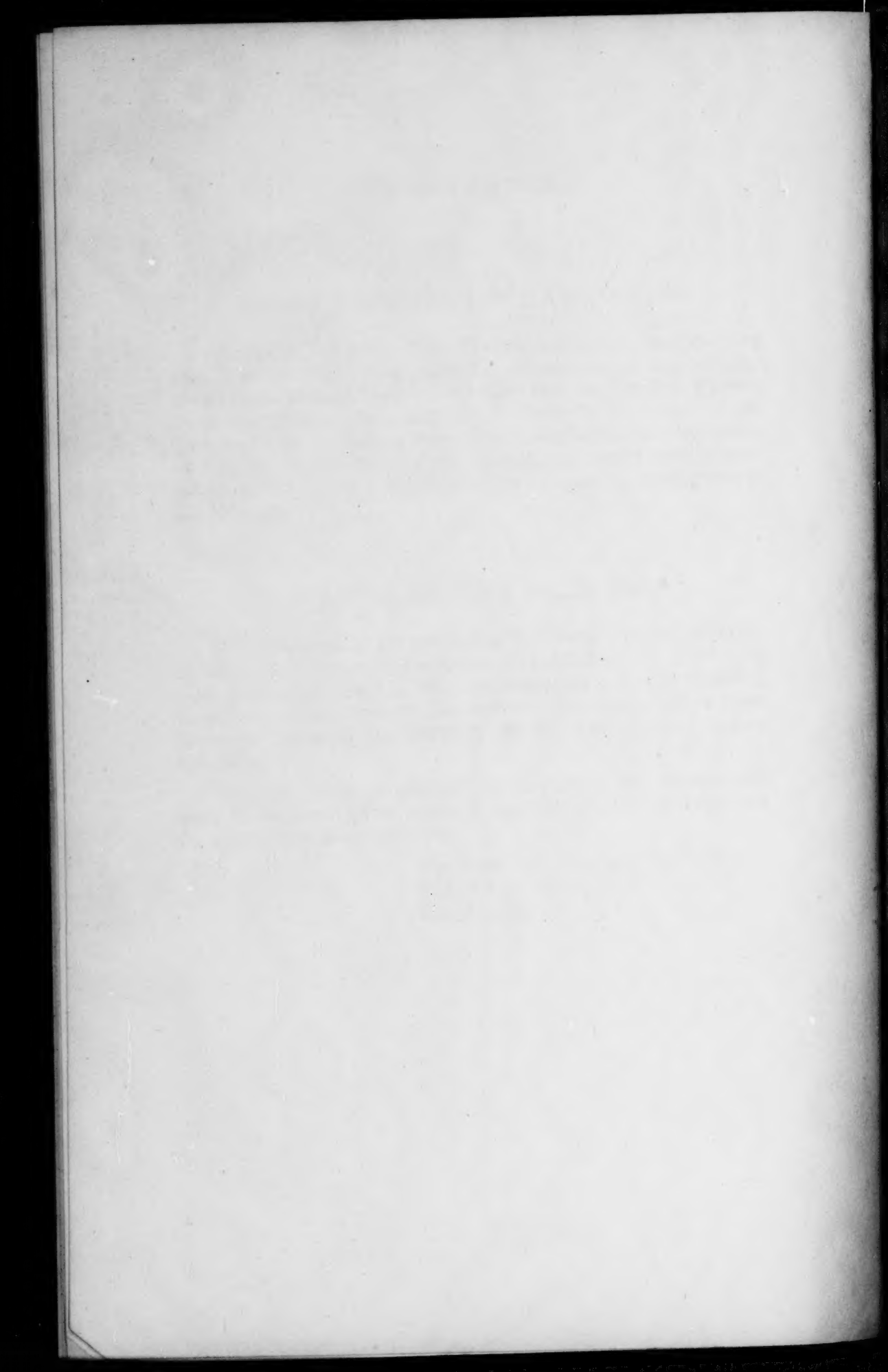
FRANK S. BREWER PRIZE, 1948

The next contest for the Frank S. Brewer Prize of \$500.00, to be applied toward the expense of publication of a winning essay, will close June 1, 1948. An invitation is hereby extended to all who desire to enter the contest. The manuscripts must be in the hands of the secretary of the Society on or before that date.

In order to be considered for this prize, the manuscripts must be in typed form, properly documented, and in readiness for submission to the printer.

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